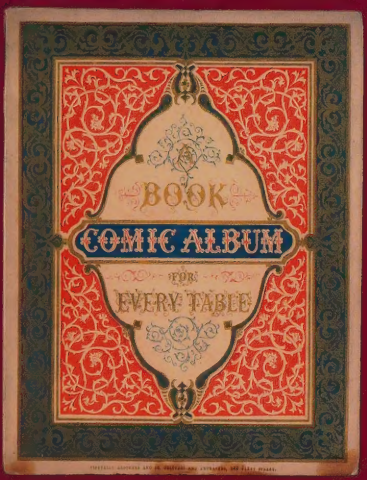
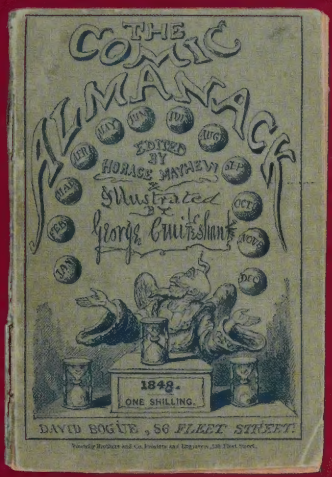
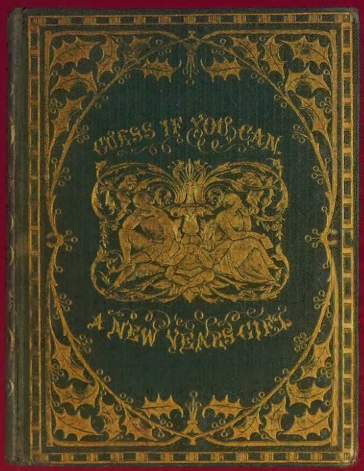
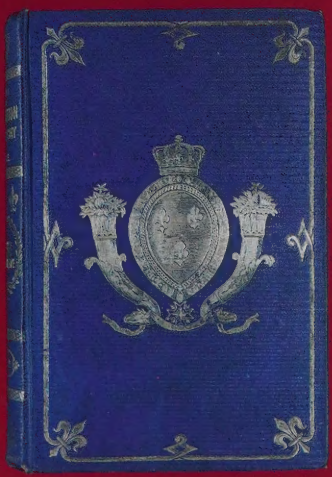
Vizetelly & Compan(ies)









A COMPLEX TALE OF
VICTORIAN PRINTING AND PUBLISHING

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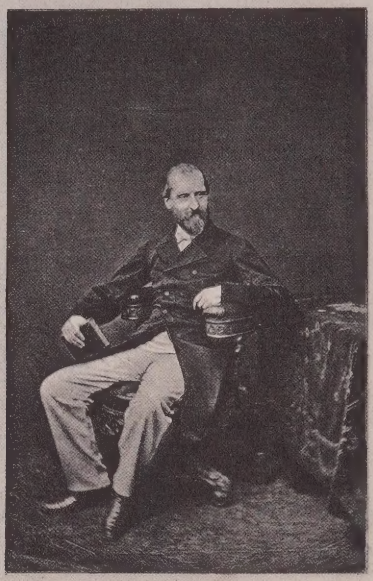
Vizetelly & Compan(ies): A Complex Tale of Victorian Printing and Publishing



Henry Vizetelly

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1863

Kegan Paul, French, Trübner & Co.ᵗᵈ Ltd. Heliographed in Paris.

Vizetelly & Compan(ies)
A Complex Tale of Victorian Printing and Publishing

An exhibition with essays by

Marie Elena Korey
Yannick Portebois
Dorothy E. Speirs
Richard Landon

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto
3 February – 2 May 2003

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Introduction

For the past three years the Joseph Sablé Centre for 19th Century French Studies, under the direction of Professors Yannick Portebois and Dorothy Speirs, has sponsored a research project called "The History of the House of Vizetelly & Co." (or "Viz. & Co." as it affectionately has become known). This arose from the great Émile Zola Correspondence project which was carried out at the University of Toronto between 1975 and 1995, and which, of course, involved work on Ernest Vizetelly, Zola's English translator. In 2002, Yannick and Dorothy published *"Mon Cher Maître": Lettres d'Ernest Vizetelly à Émile Zola 1891-1902* (Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal), a study of this important relationship.

One could not work on Ernest Vizetelly without becoming aware of the rest of his family, especially his father, Henry. What lay behind the publication of Zola's works in English was a publishing and printing enterprise which clearly was very interesting and complex. Thus the team at the Sablé Centre, aided by their collaborating students, began to investigate the activities of Henry Vizetelly. They consulted with Marie Korey, the Librarian of the Robertson Davies Library at Massey College, who led them to the earlier work of Henry and his brother James as printers and engravers. The holdings of Massey College include the Ruari McLean collection of Victorian colour printing and publishers' book-bindings, where they discovered many examples of the fine books, illustrated with wood engravings, for which the printing firm had achieved its reputation in the 1840s. The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library was drawn into the orbit of Vizetelly & Co., because it too has books printed and published by the firm, particularly the early books of the Anglo-Irish writer George Moore. An interdisciplinary collaboration was in the making.

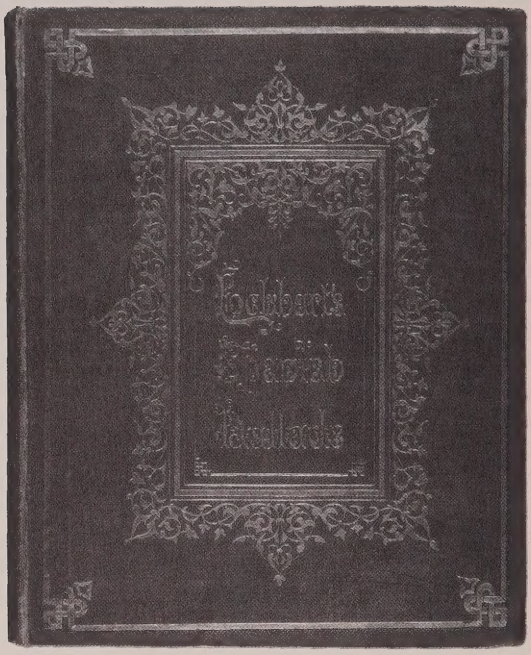
At some point in 2001, over drinks and dinner, Yannick proposed that the four collaborators should create a panel for the 2002 conference of the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP) in London. The four papers were presented to an interested audience and a lively discussion

ensued. Marie then suggested that the papers could provide the basis for an exhibition, and thus this display and catalogue have come to fruition.

The four essays and the list of books presented here still represent a work-in-progress. A definitive history of Vizetelly & Co. has proven to be an elusive goal. As is mentioned in all the essays, an almost complete lack of archival evidence has meant that information concerning the several manifestations of the firm has had to be extrapolated from its published products, and thus remains speculative. What can be presented with some confidence, based on available sources, is a roughly chronological story. When Henry Vizetelly published his *Glances Back Through Seventy Years* in 1893, he took the meaning of "glances" quite literally. As Marie discovered, his "glances" often confuse the chronology of the early years of the firm and raise more questions than those we would like answered. The extensive archival research done by Yannick and Dorothy, while filling in some gaps in the history, also has raised more questions: a document that cannot be found; a query that cannot be answered. Even the most traumatic events of his life, his two convictions for publishing obscene libel, are barely mentioned in *Glances Back*. Henry and James, as well as Ernest, remain enigmas of nineteenth century printing and publishing history.

This exhibition and catalogue have drawn upon the resources of the Sablé Centre at St. Michael's College, the Robertson Davies Library at Massey College, and the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. There are even a few items from the Korey/Landon collections (one cannot predict when a George Augustus Sala collection might prove useful). All the authors have benefited from the research of the team of students at the Sablé Centre: Mirela Cherciov, Amy Lloyd, Ruth-Ellen St. Onge, Yvette Burke, Valdy Phoey, Shelley Beal, Kristyna Karenova, and Jeanne Humphries. As usual, grateful acknowledgement must be made to the Friends of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library for its financial support of the catalogue. This has been a wonderful collaboration, the results of which we are proud to present for your learned consideration.

Richard Landon, Director
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library



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"Plodding Along as Printers and Engravers": The Early Years Of Vizetelly & Company

The name "Vizetelly & Company" generally is associated with the publishing firm that issued Émile Zola's novels in English translation in the 1880s, and the subsequent trials and conviction of Henry Vizetelly (1820-1894) for obscene libel. But the use of the firm's name goes back more than forty years to a printing and sometime publishing house that had its origins in the earlier firm of "Vizetelly, Branston and Company". The main source of information about the early years of Vizetelly & Company, as well as for the activities of Vizetelly, Branston and Company, is Henry Vizetelly's *Glances Back Through Seventy Years: Autobiographical and Other Reminiscences*, published in 1893. It is a discursive account of Henry's life and career as a wood engraver, printer, editor, publisher, and pioneer of the pictorial press. Many of these activities were carried out in collaboration with his elder brother James Thomas George Vizetelly (1817-1897)[1] who shared an entrepreneurial approach to printing and publishing. Henry's recollections of the book trade in the nineteenth century are useful to us, but they were written long after many of the events recorded and occasionally confuse the facts. (He does, for example, state that his grandfather was a printer when it was his great-grandfather.[2]) The memoir also is frustratingly vague at times, raising more questions about the firm's relationship with other members of the book trade than can be easily answered. The books bearing the firm's imprint provide corroboration of the printing and engraving activities, but the absence of archival records makes it impossible to document the nature of the "speculative" publishing ventures in which they were engaged.

The evolution of Vizetelly & Company had much to do with the activities of their father, James Henry Vizetelly (1790-1838), who was a printer and engraver and a member of the Stationers' Company. In 1827 he established a partnership with wood engraver Robert Edward Branston to form Vizetelly, Branston and Company. The silent partner in the firm was a man named Whitehead, possibly George Whitehead, an engraver associated with Branston. The firm initially was located at 135 Fleet Street

where James Henry declared that he had ten presses.[3] This was retained as a publisher's address when the printing shop was moved within Peterborough Court in 1829. In 1831, Vizetelly, Branston and Company extended across Fleet Street to number 76 or White Lion Court and seems to have had twenty presses altogether. Wood engravers George W. Bonner and William H. Wills received their training with Vizetelly and Branston, as did James Henry's eldest son James.

One of the first publications undertaken by Vizetelly, Branston and Company was *The Boy's Own Book*, an illustrated encyclopaedia of the sports and pastimes of youth, compiled by William Clarke. From its first appearance in 1828, *The Boy's Own Book* was an immediate success and went through numerous editions. Henry Vizetelly claimed that the copyright realized £1,000 over a period of twenty-seven years.[4] A companion volume, also written by Clarke, followed in 1829 under the title *The Young Lady's Book*. Vizetelly, Branston and Company also initiated and published in 1830 *Three Courses and a Dessert*, a successful collaboration between William Clarke as author and George Cruikshank as illustrator. A work of natural history with text by Clarke and illustrations by William Harvey was proposed but never completed. Harvey did produce illustrations for several children's books printed by Vizetelly, Branston and Company for other publishers. When the stamp duty on almanacks was repealed in 1834, the elder Vizetelly proposed the publication of an annual comic almanack, with George Cruikshank as illustrator, to the publisher Charles Tilt. Until his death, James Henry served as editor (under the pseudonym of "Rigdum Funnidos"), and Vizetelly, Branston and Company were the engravers and printers for the *Comic Almanack*. The first volume appeared in 1835 and it continued for nineteen years.

Both James and Henry Vizetelly were educated at Chislehurst School in Kent, prior to serving their apprenticeships. James trained with his father's firm, while Henry, who had displayed considerable artistic skill, was sent to learn wood engraving with George W. Bonner. The association with Bonner did not last more than a year as he died in 1836. Henry then was formally apprenticed to his father at Stationers' Hall, but shortly thereafter was sent to

2

John Orrin Smith, one of the most prominent wood engravers of the day. His reputation was as great in Paris as it was in London and his shop, when Henry joined it, was occupied with engraving the illustrations for a deluxe edition of Jacques Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*. This work was published in parts by Léon Curmer, between 1836 and 1838, and an English translation with the same engravings was issued by William S. Orr in 1839. Orrin Smith's shop also produced the wood engravings for Edward W. Lane's translation of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainment,* published in three volume by Charles Knight between 1839 and 1841, as well as those for Christopher Wordsworth's *Grèce Pittoresque*, published by Curmer in 1841. Henry Vizetelly's apprentice days were spent working on the engravings for these books. In 1838 he was asked to produce drawings of Queen Victoria's coronation for a series of engravings published in the *Observer* and *Bell's Life in London.*

While Henry was working for Orrin Smith a dispute arose between the partners of Vizetelly, Branston and Company which led to a lawsuit. The matter still was not resolved when James Henry Vizetelly died in 1838, but with the assistance of friends, the eldest son James was able to establish a new business, Vizetelly & Company, at the 135 Fleet Street and the 8 Peterborough Court

premises. One of the first projects he undertook, sharing the risk with John Orrin Smith and publisher Robert Tyas, was Joseph "Kenny" Meadows' *Heads of the People: or, Portraits of the English*, published in 1840 and 1841. It was issued in parts, then collected into two volumes. Meadows' portraits with accompanying articles by William Makepeace Thackeray, Douglas Jerrold, Richard H. Horne, Leigh Hunt, and many others proved a success. It led to a more ambitious project, an edition of the works of Shakespeare with one thousand illustrations by Meadows which appeared in three volumes between 1840 and 1843. This also was a joint venture with Tyas as publisher, Orrin Smith as engraver, and James Vizetelly as printer sharing the risk of the speculative venture. It was typical of the times during Henry's apprentice days:

> Many suggestions were mooted at Orrin Smith's in conversations between him and his friends for starting new publications which might bring grist to the mills of authors and artists involuntarily under the necessity of working half-time. Among other schemes propounded was one of a satirical journal on the lines of Philipon's Paris "Charivari," excepting that the proposed new venture was to be weekly instead of a daily publication.[5]

The journal was to be produced on a co-operative basis, with all parties sharing in the risk, a proposition that doomed it to failure before the first number was published.

Within a year or two of their father's death, Henry obtained his release from Orrin Smith in return for the payment of a "liberal sum" for the time remaining in the apprenticeship. Henry went to work with his brother, but also took on other work. He engraved about half of the illustrations by Clarkson Stanfield for Captain Frederick Marryat's *Poor Jack*, which was published by Longman in 1840. As Vizetelly & Company, the brothers produced two more books in which they may have shared the risk with Robert Tyas as publisher. In 1840 Tyas published an edition of Daniel Defoe's *Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, with illustrations by J.J. Grandville. Richard H. Horne's *History of Napoleon*, with illustrations by Denis Auguste Marie Raffet and Horace Vernet, appeared in two volumes in 1841. The same year Vizetelly & Company printed *The Vauxhall Papers,* a series of antiquarian notes on the

1

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Vauxhall Gardens edited by Alfred Bunn and illustrated by Alfred Crowquill (Alfred Henry Forrestier).

While the brothers were "plodding along as printers and engravers",[6] what remained of their father's old firm suddenly collapsed in 1841. This failure seems to have brought the copyrights of *The Boy's Own Book* and *The Young Lady's Book* back into the hands of the Vizetellys. Editions of both titles were published by Longman in 1842, but the Vizetellys almost certainly had a controlling interest in them as subsequent editions moved to other publishers. Another result of the failure was the transfer to Vizetelly & Company of the production of a new edition of John Gibson Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads* which John Murray was publishing. The design of the deluxe volume had been entrusted to Owen Jones, an architect who was involved in a mammoth project on the Alhambra. He had established his own lithographic press in 1836 to reproduce in colour the drawings he and the late Jules Goury had made of the Moorish castle in Grenada. Jones also employed the press to produce illuminated gift books and the decorative sectional title leaves for *Ancient Spanish Ballads* were done as chromolithographs. His designs for the ornamental initials and decorative borders were engraved and printed in colours along with the text by the Vizetellys. The work of engraving the vignettes and full

page engravings was shared by Henry Vizetelly, John Orrin Smith, and Samuel Williams. Some of the full-page engravings were printed with a tinted background. The result was a resounding success for the publisher and the printers. James and Henry were invited to dinner parties hosted by John Murray and future requests for deluxe work would come from this source.

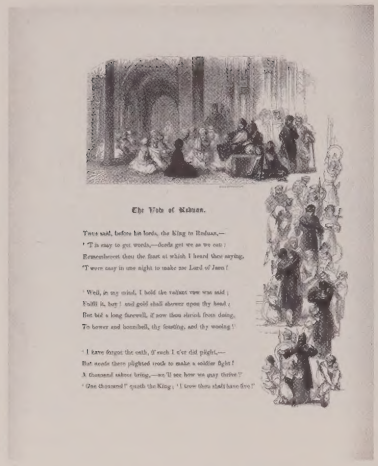
A curious commission in 1841 brought the Vizetellys their first contact with Herbert Ingram and his partner (and brother-in-law), Nathaniel Cooke. At the time Ingram and Cooke had a printing business and news agency in Nottingham, from which they also sold a patent medicine called "Parr's Life Pills". Ingram decided to produce a memoir to be distributed along with the pills, and commissioned Henry to engrave a spurious portrait of "Old Parr from a Picture by Sir Peter Paul Reubens" to accompany it. Shortly thereafter, Ingram and Cooke moved to London, establishing themselves at first in a shop in Crane Court, Fleet Street, where they continued to sell "Parr's Life Pills". But Ingram also had ideas about producing an illustrated weekly newspaper and drew the Vizetelly brothers into his plans. Initially, Ingram had conceived of the paper as an illustrated crime sheet, but he was persuaded by Henry to broaden the scope. At the recommendation of both the Vizetellys, Frederick William Naylor Bailey, who was known as "Alphabet" Bailey for all his initials, was appointed as editor. Henry assisted in procuring illustrations for the paper, an arrangement which did not last out the year. James contributed articles in prose and verse descriptive of the illustrations.[7] The Vizetelly firm executed many of the engravings, although the quantity of work meant that other engravers were involved as well. The first number of the *Illustrated London News* was published on 14 May 1842, selling at sixpence for an issue consisting of sixteen printed pages with thirty-two wood engravings.

When Henry came of age in 1842, he became a partner in the firm which now styled itself "Vizetelly Brothers & Company, Printers and Engravers". The brothers printed the first series of *The Book of British Ballads*, edited by Samuel C. Hall and published by Jeremiah How in 1842. Murray employed the brothers when he published another edition of Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads* in 1842 with additional decorations by Owen Jones. The collaboration

5

between Jones and the Vizetelly brothers was so satisfactory that Jones commissioned them to print the text, illustrated with wood engravings, for the *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra*. The first volume was completed in 1842, with the second following in 1845. Vizetelly Brothers & Company also printed the text for Jones's and Goury's *Views on the Nile from Cairo to the Second Cataract* in 1843.

The success of the *Illustrated London News* led the Vizetelly brothers, in partnership with Andrew Spottiswoode who also was the Queen's printer, to start a rival paper, *The Pictorial Times,* in 1843. The office was housed in a building on Fleet Street, the façade of which was "emblazoned from roof to pavement in gold and colours by Mr. Owen Jones" who also designed the ornamental heading for the paper.[8] Henry Vizetelly served as editor with a literary team that included Douglas Jerrold on social topics, William Makepeace Thackeray briefly as art critic and literary reviewer, and Mark Lemon as theatrical critic. Gilbert A'Beckett produced a humorous column, Peter Cunningham provided anecdotal commentary on living literary figures, and Frederick Knight Hunt served as sub-editor. The principal artist for new illustrations was John Gilbert, while Charles Martin contributed a series of full-length portraits of literary notables. Like the *Illustrated London*



The Vale of Kidnan.

Twas said, before his lords, the King to Rudnan,—
'T is easy to get words,—deeds get we as we can!
Remember thou the feast at which I heard thee saying,
'T were easy in one night to make me Lord of Jaen!

'Well, ye say truth, I hold the valiant vow was said;
Fulfil it, hey! and gold shall shower upon thy head;
But bid a long farewell, if now thou shrink from doing,
To honor and honmbll, thy feasting, and thy wooing!

'I have forgot the oath, if such I e'er did plight,—
But made there plighted vows to make a soldier fight!
A thousand sabres bring,—we'll see how we may thrive?'
'One thousand?' quoth the King; 'I know thou shalt have five?'

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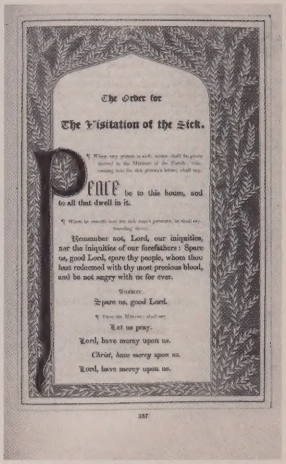

The Order for

The Visitation of the Sick.

PEACE be in this house, and to all that dwell in it.

Remember not, Lord, our iniquities, nor the iniquities of our forefathers: Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever.

Minister.

Spare us, good Lord.

Then the Minister shall say.

Let us pray.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

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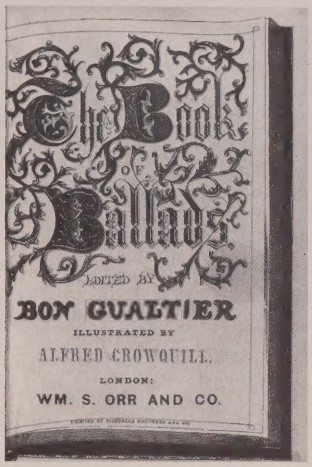
News, the issues of *The Pictorial Times* sold for sixpence. The paper ran successfully from 1843 to 1848. Henry served as editor until the end of 1844 when he turned those duties over to Hunt and sold his share in the paper to Spottiswoode. The demand for decorative printing was increasing and required the full attention of both Vizetelly brothers.

With William S. Orr and Company as publisher, the Vizetellys produced *The Comic Album: a Book for Every Table* in 1843. It contained humorous prose and verse and amusing designs by various artists, including French caricaturist Cham (Count Amédée Charles Henry de Noé). Probably in 1843 or 1844, Orr and the Vizetellys combined forces for a series entitled *Comic Nursery Tales*, the classic tales retold in humorous verse. These were modelled on a French series, illustrated by Cham and published by Philipon of Paris, from whom the Vizetellys purchased a number of *clichés* (stereotypes) of the illustrations. The titles included *Hop o' My Thumb* by Gilbert A'Beckett, *Jack the Giant-killer* by Percival Leigh, *Puss in Boots* by F. P. Palmer, *Cinderella* and *Blue Beard* by F.W.N. Bayley, *Tom Thumb* by Hal Willis, and *Beauty and the Beast* by Albert Smith. In addition to Cham, the illustrators for the series were John Leech and Alfred Crowquill. It is very likely that the Vizetelly brothers were responsible for more than the printing in



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this venture. The titles are advertised at the end of *The Comic Album* along with the recent Longman editions of *The Boy's Own Book* and *The Young Lady's Book*, and the titles produced earlier with Robert Tyas.

With the growing prosperity of the firm, both brothers began families: Henry married Elizabeth Pollard in 1844 and James wed Selina Caroline Ward in 1845. That year brought several commissions for deluxe books which also expanded the firm's expertise in colour printing. Both editions of Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads* had decorative borders printed in multiple colours. *The Comic Album* was issued in decorative paper-covered boards, printed in gold, red, and blue. Now the firm of John Murray wanted to produce an illuminated edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, with decorations designed by Owen Jones and a series of tinted wood engravings after "the Works of the Great Painters". Many of the borders and initials required printing in two or three colours which the Vizetelly firm carried out with great skill. For Louisa Stuart Costello's *The Rose Garden of Persia,* published by Longman in 1845, the Vizetellys produced wood engraved borders and ornamental "carpet" pages, printed in gold and several colours. The book was issued in red or deep pink paper-covered boards, printed in gold and blue.

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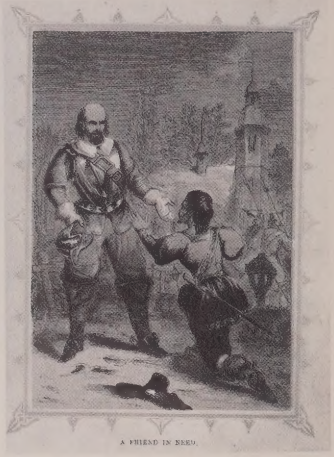


A FRIEND IN NEED.

13

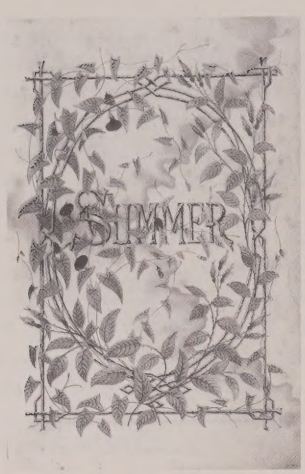
THE HOTTENTOT AND THE LION.

28

THE SIREN OF OUR STREET

The Vizetelly brothers also tried their hand at pictorial colour printing for several works published by Chapman and Hall. Dudley Costello's *Tour through the Valley of the Meuse: with the Legends of the Walloon Country and the Ardennes* of 1846 contains a frontispiece and decorative title leaf printed in black and two tints with some hand colouring. The Vizetellys did similar colour work for three titles by Mrs. Percy Sinnett: *A Story about a Christmas in the Seventeenth Century* and *Hunters and Fishers: or, Sketches of Primitive Races in the Lands Beyond the Sea* in 1846, and *Herdsmen and Tillers of the Ground: or, Illustrations of Early Civilization* in 1847. The firm achieved a certain immortality in another of Chapman and Hall's publications, the first edition of Thackeray's *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* in 1846. In it, the author discusses the difficulty of describing the poetry of nature in mere prose. He was writing of the Bay of Glaucus and ends with the comparison: "What do mountains become in type, or rivers in Mr. Vizetelly's best brevier".[9] The comment remained in subsequent editions, although the printers had changed by then. The Vizetellys also printed Thackeray's Christmas book, *Mrs. Perkin's Ball*, in 1847 and *Our Street* in 1848, both published by Chapman and Hall.

The connection with Chapman and Hall brought about another publishing speculation for the Vizetelly brothers, a series entitled *The Boy's Own Library*. Thomas Miller, "the basket-maker poet", was employed to write the text and Birket Foster, then just starting his artistic career, was commissioned to supply illustrations for the first titles. These were volumes devoted to the scenery and pastimes of English rural life, presented by the season of the year. *The Boy's Summer Book* was issued in 1846, followed by the volumes for *Autumn*, *Winter*, and *Spring*. Each included a frontispiece and ornamental title leaf printed in gold and colours, and had between twenty and thirty engravings, printed in black only, within the text. These were issued in an "ornamental stiff cover" at two shillings or in a cloth binding at three shillings. In 1847 the individual seasons were collected under the title *The Country Year Book*, with two seasons together, selling at five shillings per volume. The following year all four were issued together as *The Country Year Book* at five shillings. Other titles for *The Boy's Own Library* were projected for


SUMMER

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WINTER

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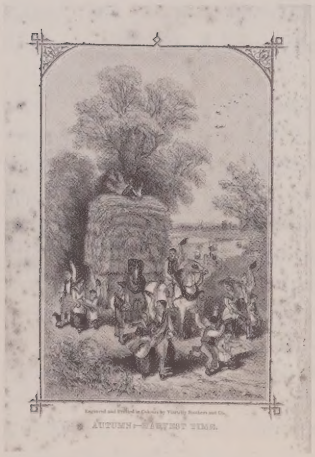

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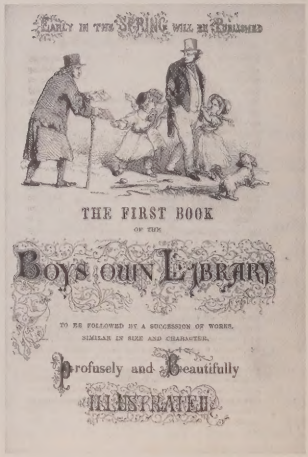
EARLY IN THE SPRING WILL BE PUBLISHED
THE FIRST BOOK
OF THE
BOYS OWN LIBRARY
TO BE FOLLOWED BY A SUCCESSION OF WORKS,
SIMILAR IN SIZE AND CHARACTER,
Profusely and Beautifully
ILLUSTRATED.

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a total of twelve books, but it seems that most of them were never published. *A History of Wonderful Inventions*, issued in 1849, may have been part of the series. James Vizetelly claimed to have written some of the text for this work, as well as having contributed several articles for a new and enlarged edition of *The Boy's Own Book* published by Chapman and Hall in 1846.[10] The Vizetellys may have had an interest in the series entitled "Picture Story Books by Great Authors and Great Painters" which appeared over a Chapman and Hall imprint in 1846 and 1847. Each of these titles was issued with colour-printed frontispieces and decorative title leaves in ornamental covers at only eighteenpence each. The series included *Good Lady Bertha's Honey Broth* by Alexandre Dumas, *Bean Flower and Pea Blossom* and *Genius Goodfellow and the Wood-Cutter's Dog*, both by Charles Nodier, and *The History of Dame Mitchell and Her Cat*.

For the firm of Longmans, the Vizetelly brothers produced several works designed by Henry Noel Humphreys. Eden Warwick's *The Poet's Pleasaunce: or, Garden of all Sorts of Pleasant Flowers*, appeared in 1847, decorated with intricate floral borders engraved by Henry Vizetelly and others. Some copies were issued in glazed paper-covered boards, printed in black and yellow in a design imitative of sixteenth-century bindings. The fifth edition of *The Coins of England* came out the following year. In 1849 the brothers printed the text for one of the most elaborate books done by Humphreys, *The Record of the Black Prince*. It combined the two-colour letterpress text with delicate chromolithographic images reproduced from medieval manuscripts. In 1848 the firm engraved and printed Richard Doyle's illustrations for Leigh Hunt's *A Jar of Honey from Mount Hybla*, the cover of which was designed by Owen Jones. Another commission from John Murray brought the Vizetellys and Jones together again to print his classical decorations for an 1849 edition of Horace's *Works*, with a life by Dean Henry H. Milman. For the 1848 and 1849 issues of the *Illustrated London Almanack*, Henry engraved several country scenes depicted by Birket Foster.

The brothers also had undertaken a number of jobs for David Bogue, successor to Charles Tilt, the publisher of the *Comic Almanack*. The Vizetellys began printing this title again, as well as

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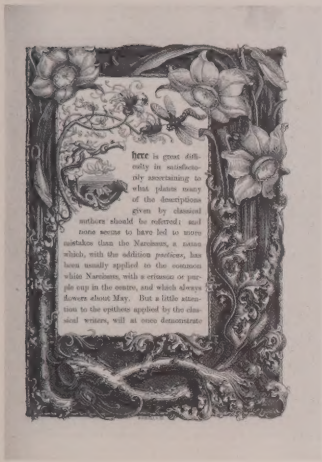
comical "natural histories" by Albert Smith and Angus B. Reach, and similar works by Horace Mayhew. Bogue did entrust a number of more substantial works to the brothers, including two drawing books by James Duffield Harding: the third edition of his *Elementary Art* in 1846 and his *Lessons on Art* in 1849. The publication of *The Boy's Own Book* was moved to Bogue with new editions appearing in 1849, 1852, and 1855. When Henry Vizetelly proposed the publication of a bogus gold-rush narrative written by himself, Bogue went right along with the idea. *Four Months among the Gold Finders of Alta California* appeared as a Bogue imprint in 1849 with the purported author being "J.Tyrwhitt Brooks, M.D." It was a resounding success, much reprinted and translated into several languages. Not nearly so profitable was *Garvarni in London: Sketches of Life and Character, with Illustrative Essays by Popular Writers*, also published in 1849. The Vizetelly brothers had prevailed upon Bogue to publish the volume to assist Paul Garvarni who was in London to escape debtors' prison in France.

Garvarni was drawn into another of the Vizetellys' speculations in 1848 when they decided to produce an illustrated journal in imitation of *Punch*. It was named *The Puppet Show* and was touted to prospective readers as:


There is great difficulty in satisfactorily ascertaining to what plants many of the descriptions given by classical authors should be referred; and none seems to have led to more mistakes than the Narcissus, a name which, with the addition *poeticus*, has been usually applied to the common white Narcissus, with a crimson or purple cup in the centre, and which always flowers about May. But a little attention to the epithets applied by the classical writers, will at once demonstrate

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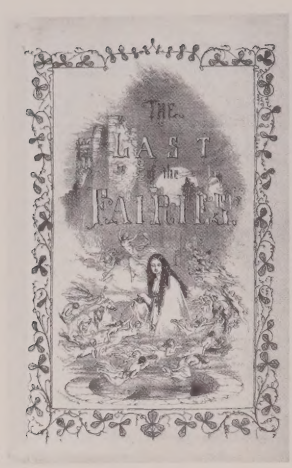
> a pungent penny pictorial periodical, [that] polishes popular politicians politely, punishes peevish prattling persons preaching pattern progress principles, pooh-poohs pompous presuming purse proud parvenus, puts-down paltry prolix publications, patronises play-houses pulling pointless performances to pieces, and publishes piquant pictures, playful puns, priceless poems, pleasing prose, popular parodies and political pasquinades. Princes, peers and policemen, poets, players and paupers, patriots, philanthropists, and puffed-up pretenders purchase the Puppet Show.[11]

Garvarni designed the figure of a showman with his company of puppets for the first number. The staff was mainly young writers and included John Bridgeman who served as editor, James Hannay, Sutherland Edwards, Shirley Brooks, Angus B. Reach, Robert Brough, Edward Blanchard, and William North. Henry Vizetelly contributed some Tennysonian parodies. The journal never achieved financial stability and ceased publication after the third volume in 1849.

Although Henry does not mention it in his autobiography, a dispute arose between the brothers that resulted in the break-up of the firm of "Vizetelly Brothers & Company". In February 1849, Henry wrote to John Murray:



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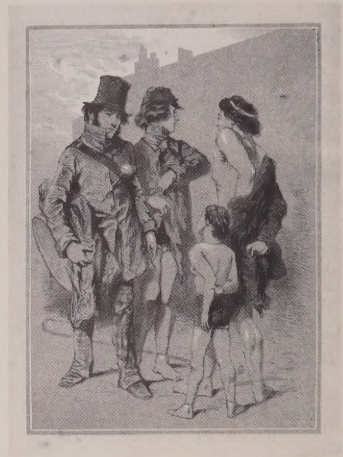

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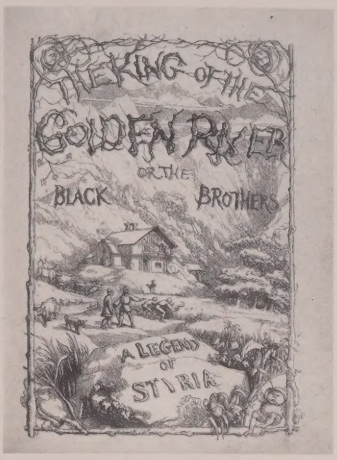
> You have perhaps become aware that the business carried on by myself and brother has been for some time past crippled through pecuniary difficulties, originally arising from circumstances totally independent of its regular trading engagement & by the occurrence of which I am myself unfortunately the chief sufferer, although no party to them. The result is that after making arrangements with the Creditors of the firm by which I sacrifice everything that I am possessed of, I have determined never to again resume business in connection with my brother on any consideration whatever … and it is my intention shortly to engage in business as a printer and Engraver either in conjunction with a new partner or else on my own account alone.[12]

By 1850 the brothers were working in separate establishments. James remained at the 8 Peterborough Court/135 Fleet Street premises and reverted to the firm name of "Vizetelly & Company". Henry removed to Numbers 15 and 16 Gough Square, Fleet Street, and operated as "Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver". But the demise of the legal partnership did not bring an end to all relations between the brothers. When Herbert Ingram, publisher of the *Illustrated London News*, decided to embark upon the publication of books on a large scale, he sought the advice of the Vizetellys. Both James and Henry recommended a series of cheap illustrated books



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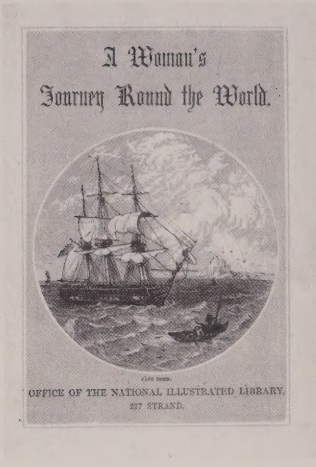
forming a "National Illustrated Library" which commenced about 1851. According to Henry, "All the earlier volumes were printed by my brother or myself, and a handsome royalty was, moreover, secured to us on the sales".[13] In all, about forty-five titles were issued as part of the "National Illustrated Library" which continued until about 1854, but the later volumes were done by other printers.

James Vizetelly continued to do some deluxe work, including a charming book of charades entitled, *"Guess if you can!"* for David Bogue in 1850, and two more books designed by Henry Noel Humphreys: *The Book of Ruth* in 1850 and *Sentiments and Similies of William Shakespeare* in 1851. The latter was printed in gold and black. About this time James also commenced the production of a series of French literature in translation, several of which he claimed to have translated himself.[14] Vizetelly & Company issued a four-volume edition of Alphonse de Lamartine's *History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France* from 1851 to 1853, and advertised several other historical works by the celebrated poet and statesman. James also secured the rights for Victor Hugo's anti-Bonapartist pamphlet, *Napoleon the Little*, which went through several editions in 1852 alone. The following year he published the pro-Bonapartist reply, *Napoleon the Third*, by Louis Etienne Arthur Dubreil Hélion de La Guéronnière. In 1852 Henry Vizetelly made two business


A Woman's
Journey Round the World.
OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL ILLUSTRATED LIBRARY,
227 STRAND.

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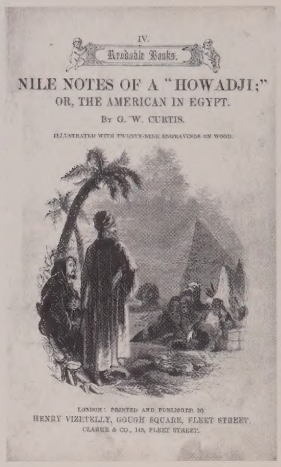
IV.
Readable Books.
NILE NOTES OF A "HOWADJI;"
OR, THE AMERICAN IN EGYPT.
By G. W. CURTIS.
ILLUSTRATED WITH TWENTY-NINE ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD.
LONDON: PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
HENRY VIZETELLY, GOUGH SQUARE, FLEET STREET.
CLARKE & CO., 169, FLEET STREET.

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A NATIVE WOMAN SEIZED BY A CAYMAN.—Page 214.

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trips to Paris and, while he gives no indication of the nature of his business, he may have been acting on James's behalf. Shortly thereafter, Vizetelly & Company brought out the only "authorised" translations of Alexandre Dumas' *Izaak Lakadam*, a novel about the "Wandering Jew", and Alcide Hyacinthe Du Bois de Beauchesne's *Louis XVII: His Life, His Suffering, His Death* in 1853. Both titles include Clarke, Beeton, & Co. in the imprint. Although it is not dated on the title-page, the "authorised" translation of Paul P. de La Gironière's *Twenty Years in the Philippines* probably was published the same year. These titles were just a handful from the comprehensive series of "Contemporary French Literature" advertised as being published by "James Vizetelly, Peterborough Court. Henry Vizetelly, Gough Square. Sold by Clarke, Beeton, and Co. 148 Fleet Street".[15] The series was to include works of history, travel, and fiction, suitable for "family reading". A few more titles were published, but the full series was never completed. By 1855, the firm of Vizetelly & Company ceased publication and James Vizetelly disappears from his brother's narrative.

The connection with Clarke, Beeton, and Co. was the result of one of Henry Vizetelly's speculations, a series of cheap illustrated books he called "Readable Books". A prospectus for the series proclaimed the distinguishing feature to be "... a certain vivacity of style or subject, suitable alike to the family circle, and the solitary student – to the idler suffering from *ennui,* and the man weary with work – to the sedentary stayer at home, and the more mercurial traveller on river, road, and rail".[16] The books were issued in 1852 to 1853 in penny weekly numbers, six penny parts, in pictorial boards at a shilling each, or cloth at 1s. 6d. The first title in the series was Edgar Allan Poe's *Tales of Mystery, Imagination, & Humour; and Poems*, which in its first issue has only Henry Vizetelly's name in the imprint.[17] (It was the first collected and illustrated edition of Poe to be printed in England.) He shortly thereafter entered into an agreement with Charles H. Clarke, a binder and bookseller, and (probably) Frederick Salisbury, a printer, for a shared interest in the Readable Books. Both were involved in the production of the books. Salisbury also had an arrangement with Samuel Orchart Beeton, who became a partner with Clarke in 1852. Numbers two through six of the "Readable Books" in their first printings have

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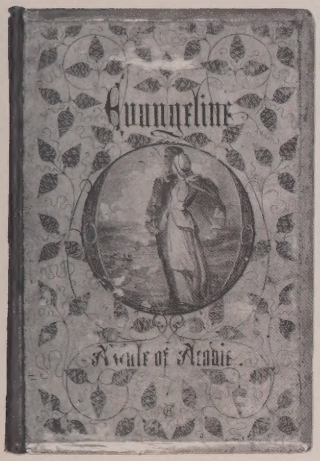
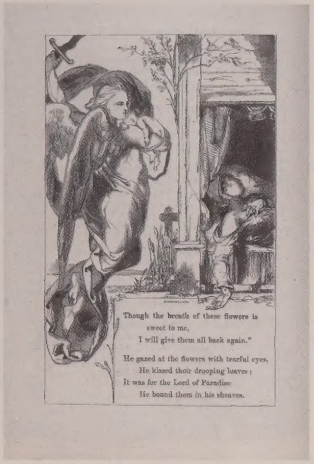
both Vizetelly and Clarke & Co. in the imprint, while the remaining eight titles list "Clarke, Beeton, and Co." as the publisher. Henry claimed, "The sale of these books was very large, the first editions of the six or eight volumes that I produced, before I parted with the series, invariably consisted of twenty thousand copies".[18]

Although his name did not appear in the imprint, Henry Vizetelly undertook with Clarke and Co. the publication of the first English edition of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852. It was during the production of this book that Beeton became a partner in the firm and attempted to cut Henry out of his share of the profits. Despite these difficulties, he had further dealings with Clarke, Beeton, and Co. in the publication of the "Contemporary French Literature Series", a "Shilling Books" series, and the "Select Family Series".[19] In 1853, the two firms published an edition of Thomas Babington Macaulay's *Speeches, Parliamentary and Miscellaneous* which led to a controversy with the author as he had not been consulted prior to publication.

While the publishing of cheap illustrated books occupied some of his time, Henry Vizetelly also was involved in the engraving and printing of deluxe books. For Smith, Elder and Co., he printed Thackeray's *The Kickleburys on the Rhine* in 1850, and produced the first two editions of John Ruskin's *The King of the Golden River* in

35 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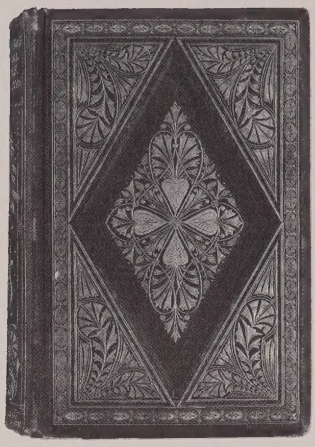
1851, with wood engravings after the designs of Richard Doyle. In 1854, he printed an illustrated edition of Martin F. Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy* with some of the engravings and all the ornamental initials done by him. But his best engraving work appeared in a number of books done with publisher David Bogue, including Henry's most ambitious work of colour printing, *Christmas with the Poets: A Collection of Songs, Carols, and Descriptive Verses, relating to the festival of Christmas*. It was embellished with fifty tinted illustrations after the designs of Birket Foster, with ornamental initials and borders printed in gold and tints. Henry edited the text and printed the first three editions which were done in December 1850 for 1851, December 1851 for 1852, and November 1854 for 1855. Henry was pleased with its reception: "At the time of the exhibition of 1851 [it] had the honour of being selected by the trustees of the British Museum to be shown to distinguished foreign visitors as an example of contemporary book-illustration and printing".[20]

At Henry's suggestion, Bogue undertook a series of deluxe, illustrated editions of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's writings in poetry and prose. Henry engraved the illustrations and printed the first and sometimes subsequent editions. The series began with *Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie* in 1850, with illustrations by Jane E. Benham (later Hay), Birket Foster, and John Gilbert. Benham and



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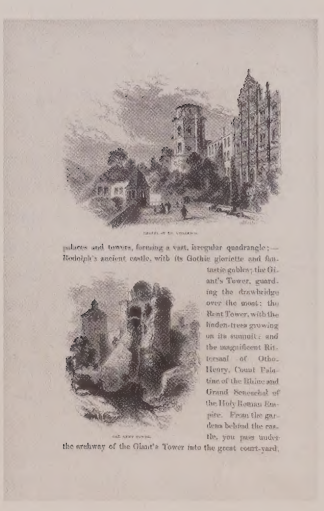

palaces and towers, forming a vast, irregular quadrangle;—Rudolph's ancient castle, with its Gothic glorietto and fantastic gables; the Giant's Tower, guarding the drawbridge over the moat; the Rent Tower, with the linden-trees growing on its summit; and the magnificent Rittersaal of Otho-Henry, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Grand Seneschal of the Holy Roman Empire. From the gardens behind the castle, you pass under the archway of the Giant's Tower into the great court-yard.

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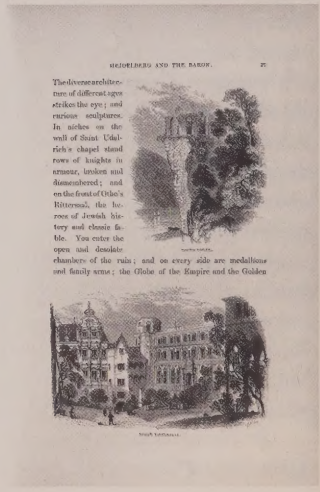

HEIDELBERG AND THE BARON. 27

The diverse architecture of different ages strikes the eye; and curious sculptures. In niches on the wall of Saint Udalrich's chapel stand rows of knights in armour, broken and dismembered; and on the front of Otho's Rittersaal, the heroes of Jewish history and classic fable. You enter the open and desolate chambers of the ruin; and on every side are medallions and family arms; the Globe of the Empire and the Golden

Foster also provided the illustrations for *Voices of the Night* and a collected edition of the *Poems,* both published in 1852, and other titles in the series. That summer, Henry Vizetelly and Birket Foster undertook a pilgrimage following Longfellow's route through Germany, Switzerland, Salzburg, and the Tyrol, to produce the illustrations for a new edition of *Hyperion: A Romance* in 1853. At Longfellow's request, Henry maintained a correspondence recounting their adventures on this journey which he later incorporated into an appendix to the published volume. *The Golden Legend* followed in 1854 and another collected edition of *Poetical Works* in 1856, while the earlier volumes went through several more editions. The volumes were issued in highly decorative bindings, in both cloth and leather. The series was a great success and prompted rival illustrated editions engraved by the Dalziel Brothers and published by George Routledge. Henry recounted with pleasure:

> So profitable did this series of volumes prove, and so fair-dealing and generous a man was David Bogue, that one day he quietly told me he had credited my account with the considerable sum of £1200, to which he thought me entitled for having planned out the series of works, and given him the opportunity of engaging in their publication.[21]

In 1855, with the repeal of the newspaper stamp duty imminent, Bogue proposed to start a cheap illustrated paper, the *Illustrated Times,* in which Henry would have a share and also serve as general editor. Henry secured the work of numerous artists, among them Edward Morin, Hablot Browne (Phiz), Birket Foster, Kenny Meadows, Gustave Doré, Charles H. Bennett, Charles Doyle, George Henry Andrews, William McConnell, Thomas Henry Nicholson, and Gustave Janet, with a few contributions from George Cruikshank, Harrison Weir, and Charles Keene. The literary staff included James Hannay, Robert Brough, Edmund Yates, George Augustus Sala, Sutherland Edwards, Frederick Greenwood, Augustus Mayhew, Edwin Draper, and others. An extensive advertising campaign was launched by the partners, resulting in orders for nearly 100,000 copies. The first number of the *Illustrated Times* was to appear on 9 June 1855, at a price of twopence, but a delay in the progress of the bill to repeal the stamp duty meant that

the duty was still in effect. Rather than lose the momentum they had established, Bogue and Vizetelly decided to publish the first and several subsequent numbers without a stamp, risking a fine of £12,000. The duty was finally repealed and the fine waived.

The *Illustrated Times* went on to achieve considerable success, much of it due to Henry's skill as its editor. He was prepared to listen to new ideas, such as Edmund Yates's proposal for an irreverent social column, "The Lounger at the Clubs". Yates recalled Vizetelly as "... a thoroughly sharp and practical businessman in journalism, wholly unhampered by conventionality or precedent".[22] Henry also had a reputation for being a punctual paymaster, a quality not often attributed to those in his position. In addition to the regular columns, Henry made certain that the paper covered all the news, ranging from the murder trial of William Palmer in November 1855 to royal weddings.

The success of the *Illustrated Times* did not please Herbert Ingram, proprietor of the *Illustrated London News*. He started two rival cheap papers, the *Picture* and the *People's Times*, and pirated a number of the front-page illustrations from the *Illustrated Times*. Vizetelly retaliated in his paper with satirical references to the patent medicine that was the source of Ingram's wealth. As Ingram was a parliamentary hopeful at the time, he did not appreciate the attention he was receiving. He eventually compromised by suppressing his own papers and offered to buy out the *Illustrated Times* for £12,000. Bogue and Vizetelly declined the offer initially, but later sold a third share, while retaining editorial control, to Ingram for just under £5,000. This secured Henry his salary as editor, but the rivalry for the pictorial journalism market continued. In response to Ingram's purchase of the copyright of the *London Journal* from George Stiff, Henry Vizetelly decided to start a new penny periodical, *The Welcome Guest,* in 1858. He described it as a cross between the *London Journal* and *All the Year Round*. One of the first works secured for it was Sala's *Twice Round the Clock*. Although *The Welcome Guest* won praise and, according to Henry, a circulation of 120,000 copies, he lost between £2,000 to £3,000 on it. He sold the copyright to John Maxwell who published it at a loss for a few more years until he, too, abandoned it.

Henry's financial situation had become more difficult after the

THE
WELCOME GUEST
A Magazine of Attractive Reading for All.

DEBIT AND CREDIT

death of his friend and partner, David Bogue, some time in 1857 or 1858. The losses incurred from *The Welcome Guest* led Henry to sell his share in the *Illustrated Times* to Herbert Ingram in 1859, for "rather more than double" the amount Henry had lost in his speculation. Fearing that Henry might use the money to start yet another rival paper, Ingram agreed to pay an additional £4,000 to have Henry continue as editor of the *Illustrated Times* for a term of five years. Dealing with his contributors could be a problem at times, but he was on familiar terms with many of them. He frequently attended gatherings at Sala's home and had travelled with him and Augustus Mayhew to try their luck at the gaming tables in Homburg in 1858. During this time, Henry also became much involved with the campaign for the repeal of the duty on paper. Together with John Francis of *The Athenaeum*, and publisher John Cassell, he canvassed members of Parliament and went to Scotland and Ireland to gain support from publishers of the periodical press. Their efforts came to fruition when the repeal became law on 1 October 1861.

Although his editorial duties were demanding, Henry did not abandon his printing and publishing activities altogether. Robert Brough's *Songs of the "Governing Classes" and Other Lyrics* and *The Illustrated Byron* appeared in 1855 and 1856 respectively, both with

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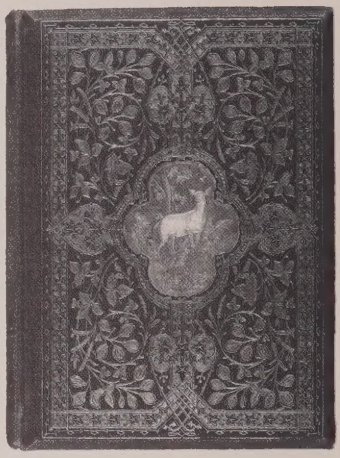

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Henry Vizetelly as printer and publisher. He was the printer and engraver for the 1856 edition of Longfellow's *Poetical Works,* published by Bogue, and in 1858, printed Longfellow's *Kavanaugh* for William Kent, the successor to David Bogue. The following year, Henry produced Wordsworth's *The White Doe of Rylstone* for Longman. For a few years, he worked with wood engraver Robert Loudan, but was still operating as Henry Vizetelly, printer and engraver, at Gough Square in 1865 when he decided to move to France.

On a personal level, these were not easy years for Henry. His first wife died unexpectedly in 1857, leaving several young children. In 1861, Henry married Annie Ansell and began a second family. When his contract as editor of the *Illustrated Times* came to an end in 1864, Henry decided not to seek a renewal as he feared the paper would be shut down. Ingram had died in a steamboat accident on Lake Michigan in 1860 and his heirs were running the publishing enterprise. Whatever their intentions may have been, the *Illustrated Times* continued to be published until about 1872. Henry contemplated starting yet another rival paper, but allowed himself to be persuaded by the offer of £800 per year to serve as the Paris correspondent for the *Illustrated London News.* In the summer of 1865, Henry and his family left for France. Prior to the departure, he

had made arrangements with a number of other journals, including the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *All the Year Round*, and *London Society*, to contribute articles to their pages. In the years spent in France, Henry fulfilled his obligations to the *Illustrated London News*, whether it meant obtaining the release of foreign newspapers seized by the French government or covering events at the court of Napoleon III. He described Paris at play during the Exposition of 1867, as well as Paris under siege during the war with Prussia. During the latter, Henry had to resort to "balloon mail" to try to get illustrations, both original drawings and photographic copies, to London.

Henry also found the time to research and write an account of the *Story of the Diamond Necklace*, published by Tinsley Brothers in 1869. He translated and edited Marius Topin's work on *The Man with the Iron Mask*, issued by Smith, Elder & Co. in 1870. He toured the wine regions of France and Spain for a series of articles on the subject, developing a reputation as a connoisseur of wines which led to invitations to serve as a juror at the Vienna exhibition in 1873 and again at Paris in 1878. Several books on the subject resulted from these activities, all published by Ward, Locke & Tyler. *The Wines of the World* came out in 1875, followed by *Facts about Sherry* in 1876, *Facts about Champagne and Other Sparkling Wines* in 1879, and *Facts about Port and Madeira* in 1880. As an *Illustrated London News* correspondent, he visited Berlin on several occasions, later turning these observations into *Berlin under the New Empire*, published by Tinsley in 1879. In 1882 the same firm brought out Henry's account, written with his son Ernest, of Paris during the siege as *Paris in Peril*.

The deaths in 1874 of his eldest son and his second wife and concern for his own health led Henry to terminate his arrangement with the *Illustrated London News* a few years later and return to London, probably in 1876 or 1877. During his brother's absence, James Vizetelly had been contributing pieces to various publications, but found it difficult to sustain himself and, in 1882, applied to the Royal Literary Fund for assistance.[23] When Henry decided to take up his "old calling of publisher", James seems to have had no objection to the use of the name of "Vizetelly & Company". Another aspect of Henry's career began, one to which he brought

his expertise as an engraver, editor, printer and publisher. That it would end sadly was not due to a lack of industry on his part, as George Augustus Sala noted in his own memoir:

> I knew him intimately during very many years of his busy, industrious, and not very fortunate life. He ought to have made a large fortune, since he was not only a man of considerable literary attainments and of long journalistic experience, but he was also the possessor of the keenest business faculty imaginable. There are, however, always a certain number of people in the world who *cannot* get on, and Henry Vizetelly was one of them. His greatest misfortune did not come to him until almost the close of a resolutely industrious and generally useful life.[24]

Sala was one of several authors who rallied in support of Henry at the time of his imprisonment in 1889 (see below), and in May 1891 when Vizetelly applied to the Royal Literary Fund for assistance.[25] When his health permitted, Henry valiantly attempted to remedy his situation by working on his autobiography, which was published as *Glances Back Through Seventy Years* late in 1893. It was not the success he needed, and Henry had to appeal again to the Royal Literary Fund on 31 October 1893. A second grant, received on 10 November 1893, alleviated some of Henry's immediate financial concerns. He died less than two months later on 1 January 1894.

NOTES

1 Although the standard biographical sources give James Thomas George Vizetelly's year of birth as 1817, it is given as "5th April 1816" by him in an application of 2 August 1882 to the Royal Literary Fund (Royal Literary Fund, file no. 2152, 1882, British Library Microfilm M 1077/reel 85). To further complicate matters, there are family records that give it as 5 April 1818. Hereafter, I shall refer to him only as James.

2 A James Visetelly [sic] was apprenticed to John Hart in 1755 and obtained his freedom in 1770. D.F. McKenzie (ed), *The Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 162.

3 This was in compliance with the 1799 Seditious Societies Act (39 George III, cap. 79) which required printers to file a notice of the kind and number of

presses owned. The same act required printers to give their name, street address, and town on the first and last pages of every book consisting of more than one leaf. According to William B. Todd, James Henry Vizetelly declared the maximum presses: ten in 1827 and twenty in 1831. William B. Todd, *A Directory of Printers and others in Allied Trades London & Vicinity, 1800–1840* (London: Printing Historical Society, 1972), xi-xii.

4 Henry Vizetelly, *Glances Back through Seventy Years* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trübner, 1893), I:14. The copyright seems to have stayed in the hands of the Vizetellys except for a brief period. After James Henry Vizetelly's death in 1838, two editions were published in 1839 by Whitehead & Company, probably James Henry's former partner. Editions after 1841 are issued by a succession of publishers, reflecting other arrangements the brothers had at the time.

5 Vizetelly, I:166.

6 Vizetelly, I:199.

7 This information comes from the Royal Literary Fund application of James Vizetelly.

8 Vizetelly, I:253.

9 Vizetelly, I:282.

10 Again, this information comes from the Royal Literary Fund application of James Vizetelly.

11 Vizetelly, I:330.

12 As quoted by Ruari McLean in *Victorian Book Design and colour printing* (London: Faber & Faber, 1972), 174.

13 Vizetelly, I:356-7.

14 In his application for relief to the Royal Literary Fund, James Vizetelly claimed that he translated two of the four volumes of Lamartine's *Restoration of Monarchy,* La Gironière's *Twenty Years in the Philippines,* Hugo's *Napoleon le Petit,* and La Guéronnière's *Napoleon the Third.*

15 A catalogue advertising these titles is bound in a copy of the Vizetelly & Co. edition of Dumas' *Izaak Lakadam* at the British Library (12514.d.12)

16 Prospectus bound in a copy of G.W. Curtis' *Nile Notes* [1852] in the Sablé Collection.

17 A second collection of Poe's works was issued as number IX in the series. With the exception of these two titles, the series was predominately non-fiction. For a complete list of the titles, see Michael Sadleir, *XIX Century Fiction: A Bibliographical Record Based on His Own Collection* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1951), II:66-67.

18 Vizetelly, I:354.

19 Chester W. Topp, *Victorian Yellowbacks & Paperbacks* (Denver: Hermitage Antiquarian Bookshop, 1993-) I:viii.

20 Vizetelly, I:354.

21 Vizetelly, I:352.

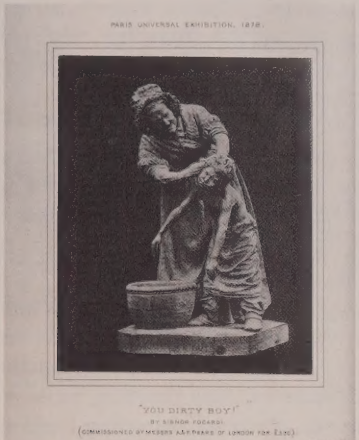
22 Edmund Yates, *Edmund Yates: His Recollections and Experiences* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1885), 190.

23 The Royal Literary Fund file for Vizetelly includes a "Testimonial to Mr. James Vizetelly" prepared by a committee of supporters which included Byron Blewitt, Charles Lempriere, and Paul Storr. Among other accomplishments, the testimonial commends him as "an active promoter of international copyright between England and France".

24 George Augustus Sala, *Life and Adventures* (London: Cassell and Company, 1895), I:324-325.

25 Royal Literary Fund, file 2365, consists of applications for relief from Henry Vizetelly on 4 May 1891 and again on 31 October 1893. The first application includes a petition of support signed by Sala, Thomas Hardy, Walter Besant, Richard Garnett, Grant Allen, Robert Buchanan, and others. A grant of £75 was awarded to Vizetelly in 1891 and again in 1893. Royal Literary Fund. British Library Microfilm M 1007/reel 77.

A Publisher and his Books: The Catalogue of Vizetelly & Co., 1880-1890



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Unlike larger and more prestigious publishing firms, such as Macmillan or Chatto & Windus, several smaller but nonetheless important British publishing houses have not been studied as they deserve, because of the lack of records and archives. Their contribution to the shaping of a changing book market, however, is more important than it might appear, as Simon Eliot has shown in the case of John Camden Hotten's publications.[1] The "second incarnation" of the house of Vizetelly & Co. (1880-1890) falls into the same interesting category as Hotten: a small, family firm, run by an out-of-the-ordinary individual, and marked by an eventful and fascinating history. Unfortunately, very little, if anything, remains of the firm's archives. There are no known surviving letterbooks, and apart from a few pages clipped out of a ledger book, there do not seem to be any surviving accounting or production books.[2] The family papers have been dispersed, probably owing to the fact that after 1890, Henry Vizetelly became quite ill, and his children had to fend for themselves when the firm ceased to operate. The firm's daily operation, its *modus operandi*, is thus very difficult to assess, and we

will probably never know the full details of how it was conducted. But there is one legacy on which to build, or re-build the history of the firm, a legacy that also depicts, in its own way, Henry Vizetelly and his risk-taking personality, his curiosity, his youthfulness, and his fond interest for French literature: the books bearing the imprint of "Vizetelly & Co." Far from being limited to Émile Zola's or George Moore's novels (which were considered to be "scandalous books"), the Vizetelly & Co. catalogue of 1880-1890 contains, among other genres, Restoration plays, popular French literature, mystery novels, satirical works of prose and poetry, and luxurious eighteenth-century illustrated French texts.

Overview of an unusual catalogue

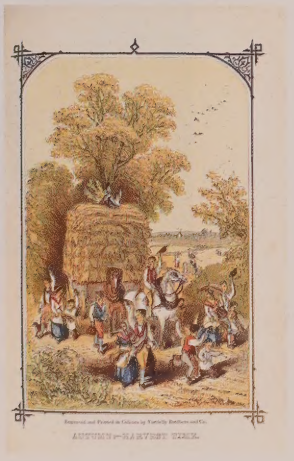
After spending several years in France as a press correspondent, Henry Vizetelly started to think about resuming his activities as a publisher (which he had abandoned sometime in the mid-1860s). Back in London, Henry Vizetelly wrote to Swinburne on 5 March 1877, in one of his rare surviving business letters, about what would become, a few years later, *The Social Zoo*:

> I am about to produce a series of satirical & humourous sketches treating of the principal social types & I wish to ask you whether you would feel disposed to contribute one or more of these studies. With the view of furnishing you with some idea of their scope I append a list of subjects which are already written or are in hand:
>
> Our Gilded Youth, Club Men, Bores, The Tuneful Quire (opera singers, &c.), Noble Lords, Swells, Nice Girls, Young Widows & Semi-detached Wives, The Shoddy Set, Flirts, College Dons, &c., &c.
>
> Any section of society – political, literary, scientific, artistic or professional may be chosen for a theme, or such types as Cads, Windbags, Sycophants, Bohemians, Humbugs, or the like may be selected. The satire may be as biting as <u>you</u> (!! A.C.S.) please, within the law of libel. Each sketch I should mention is required to be the length of a couple of Magazine sheets, and ample time would be allowed for its production. ...

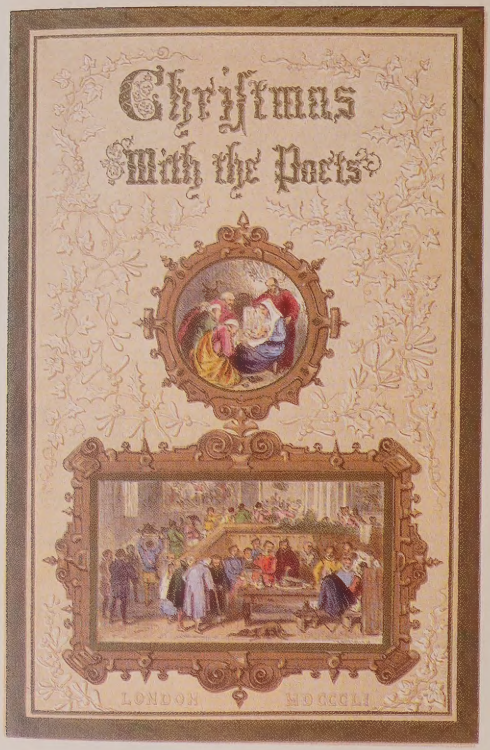
15 Miller. *The Boy's Summer Book*. 1846.

17 Miller. *The Boy's Winter Book*. 1847.

18 Miller. *The Country Year Book*. 1847.



27 Miller. *The Country Year Book*. 1848.



37 *Christmas with the Poets.* 1851.

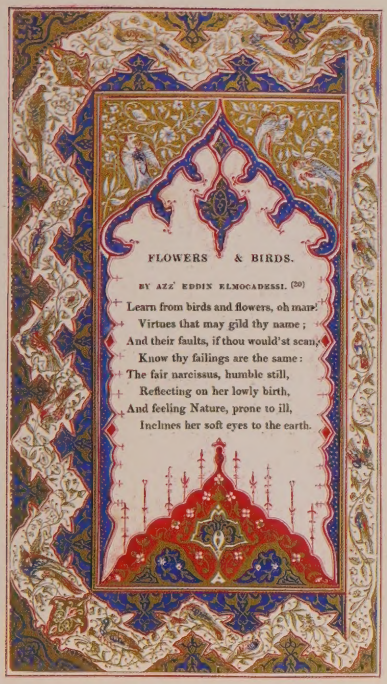
23 Bechstein. *Chamber Birds*. 1848.

MORNING PRAYER.

DEARLY beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth us in sundry places to acknowledge and confess our manifold sins and wickedness; and that we should not dissemble nor cloke them before the face of Almighty God our heavenly Father; but confess them with an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart; to the end that we may obtain forgiveness of the same, by his infinite goodness and mercy. And although we ought at all times humbly to acknowledge our sins before God; yet ought we most chiefly so to do, when we assemble and meet together to render thanks for the great benefits that we have received at his hands, to set forth his most worthy praise, to hear his most holy Word, and to ask those things which are requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the soul. Wherefore I pray and beseech you, as many as are here present, to accompany me with a pure heart, and humble voice, unto the throne of the heavenly grace, saying after me;

3

7 *The Book of Common Prayer*. 1845.

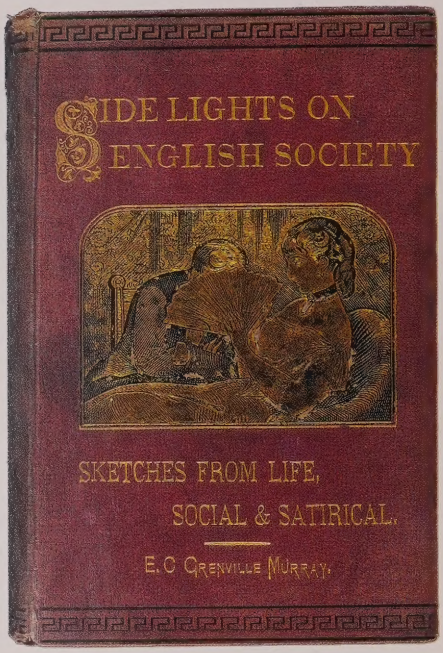


FLOWERS & BIRDS.

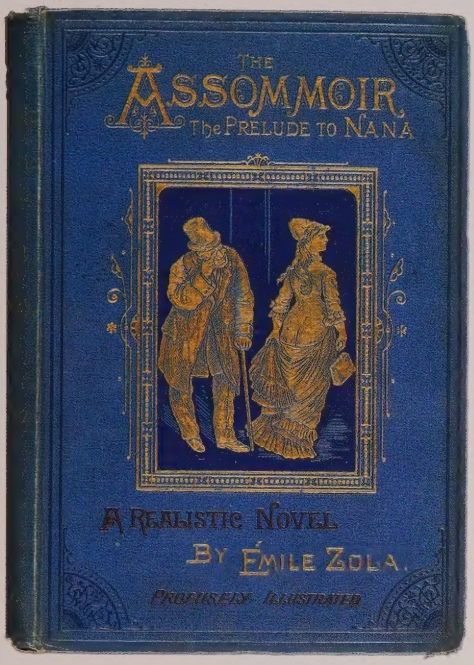
BY AZZ' EDDIN ELMOCADESSI. (20)

Learn from birds and flowers, oh man!
Virtues that may gild thy name;
And their faults, if thou would'st scan,
Know thy failings are the same:
The fair narcissus, humble still,
Reflecting on her lowly birth,
And feeling Nature, prone to ill,
Inclines her soft eyes to the earth.

8 Costello. *The Rose Garden of Persia*. 1845.



60 Grenville-Murray. *Side-Lights on English Society*. 1883.



73 Zola. *The "Assommoir"*. 1885.

89 Flaubert. *Salambo*. 1887.

> My list of contributors already includes: Mr. Grenville Murray, Mr. Burnand, Mr. W. Black, Mr. Sala, Capt. Dyne Fenton, Mr. Sutherland Edwards, Mr. J. Ashley Sterry. To these I am expecting to add: Capt. Hawley Smart, Mr. A. Trollope, Mr. R. Blackmore, Mr. Alex. Forbes, &c.[3]

In suggesting the concept of the *The Social Zoo*, Vizetelly was drawing on the types of books he knew: as a printer and engraver he had produced many similar works. The issues of *The Social Zoo*, wonderful precursors of modern cartoons, have, like the rest of the Vizetelly & Co. books, become something of a rarity today. Around the time of the second trial, in 1889, part of the inventory was probably used as collateral to pay off debts, and sold to other publishers.[4]

Even if most of the books published by Vizetelly & Co. between 1880 and 1890 appeared as part of one series or another (as will be shown later), it is an arduous and tricky task to recreate the general catalogue of the firm. Between the holdings of the British Library, the advertisements in the *Bookseller*, the listings of *The English Catalogue*, the Stationers' Hall Registry Books,[5] Michael Sadleir's *XIX Century Fiction: A Bibliographical Record*, and the fifteen catalogues issued by the firm between April 1884 and January 1889 (see Figure 1), the figures do not always "add up", for several reasons. It should be noted however that this situation is not specific to Vizetelly & Co., as Simon Eliot has shown for Hotten.[6]

FIGURE ONE

Vizetelly & Co. catalogues[7]

April 1884: Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, and New Editions, 16 pages, illustrated
- inserted in G. Ohnet, *The Ironmaster*; G. Moore, *A Modern Lover* (second edition)

September 1884: Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, and New Editions, 20 pages, illustrated
- inserted in G. Ohnet, *Countess Sarah*; A. Daudet, *Numa Roumestan*

December 1884: Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, and New Editions, 20 pages, illustrated
- inserted in I. L. Cassilis, *Between Midnight and Dawn*; J. Hill, *The Corsars, or Love and Lucre*; Grenville-Murray, *Under the Lens*; E. Zola, *Piping Hot!*

April 1885: Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, and New Editions, 18 pages (2 missing?), illustrated
- inserted in G. Moore, *A Mummer's Wife* (fourth edition), and *A Modern Lover* (second edition); E.F. Knight, *The Threatening Eye*; G. Ohnet, *Prince Serge Panine*; Frances Robinson, *Mr. Butler's Ward*

May 1885: Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, and New Editions, 20 pages, illustrated
- inserted in G. Moore, *A Mummer's Wife* (second edition); Robert Havilland, *The Forked Tongue*; J. Claretie, *Prince Zilah*

September 1885: Vizetelly & Co.'s Latest publications, 4 pages, no illustrations
- inserted in J. Claretie, *Prince Zilah*

November 1885: Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, and New Editions, 24 pages, illustrated
- inserted in A. Daudet, *Sappho*; A. Ecilaw, *Roland*; V. Cherbuliez, *The Trials of Jetta Malaubret*; Valentine Durrant, *His Child Friend*

April 1886: Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, and New Editions, 24 pages, illustrated
- inserted in P.A. de Alarcon, *Captain Spitfire*; J. Siree, *Saved by a Smile*; E. Zola, *His Masterpiece?*

April 1886: 6 page supplement to the Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, and New Editions, no illustrations

September 1886: Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, and New Editions, 32 pages, illustrated
- inserted in Sir Ian Hamilton, *Icarus*; Felise Lovelace, *In the Change of Years*; Th. Gautier, *Mademoiselle de Maupin*; Tolstoi, *War and Peace*, vol. II

March 1887: Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, and New Editions, 32 pages, illustrated
- inserted in F. Danby, *Dr. Phillips*; G. Ohnet, *Cloud and Sunshine*; J. Law, *A City Girl*; P. Loti, *My Brother Yves*; G. Moore, *A Mere Accident*; T.A. Pinkerton, *Meadow-Sweet Comedy*; Gogol, *Taras Bulba*; E.

Zola, *Thérèse Raquin* and *The Assommoir* (new edition)

July 1887: Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, 4 pages, no illustrations
- inserted in Paul Bourget, *A Cruel Enigma*

September 1887: Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, and New Editions, 32 pages, illustrated
- inserted in G. Burchett, *Dominic Penterne*; F. Robinson, *The Plan of Campaign* (vol. 2)

April 1888: Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, and New Editions, 32 pages, illustrated
- inserted in G. Moore, *Spring Days*; G. Ohnet, *Will*; Kesnin Bey, *The Evil of the East*

January 1889: Vizetelly & Co.'s New Books, and New Editions, 24 pages, illustrated
- inserted in vol. 3 of the *Memoirs of Mme d'Arblay*

Firstly, books tend to "migrate" from one series to another, and often change titles, causing duplications and misleading over-estimations as to the number of titles published. Sometimes it can be attributed to the fact that the book was advertised before it was ready for publication, as in the case of *The Monkey's Revenge*, by Léon Gozlan, which was first advertised in 1887 in the Capital Stories series, but was published under the title *The Emotions of Polydore Marasquin* in March 1888 and does not belong to a series. Zola's *Une page d'amour* was advertised as *An Idyll*, but was published under the title *A Love Episode*. Sometimes the confusion can be attributed to marketing strategies, as in the case of three of George Augustus Sala's titles. In the catalogue of March 1887, *Paris Herself Again*, *Under the Sun*, and *Dutch Pictures and Pictures done with a Quill* became part of Vizetelly's Half-Crown Series. The first title was originally sold for 6s. (as advertised in the *Publishers' Circular* of December 1881), the second one for 5s. (*Publishers' Circular* of December 1885), and the third one for 10s.6d. (*Publishers' Circular* of October 1883). The same is true for a number of other books, such as *High Life in France under the Republic*, by Grenville-Murray, which originally sold for 9s. (Vizetelly & Co. catalogue of May 1885; also advertised in the *Publishers' Circular* at

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5s.), but ended up in the Half-Crown Series in 1888. Henry Vizetelly even included his own *Story of the Diamond Necklace* in the Half-Crown Series. The book had been first published in 1867, by Tinsley, but Henry advertised it in the Vizetelly & Co. catalogues (it sold for 6s. until its inclusion in the Half-Crown series).

Secondly, the firm's catalogues listed a number of books as already published, or "to be published shortly", and yet it has been impossible to locate any of these books with a Vizetelly & Co. imprint. Guy de Maupassant's *A Ladies' Man*, advertised in the 1887 catalogue as well as in the *Publishers' Circular* of November 1887, does not appear to have been published by Vizetelly & Co. at all.[8] The same is true for Thackeray's *Shabby-Genteel Story* (*Publishers' Circular* of July 1886). Further, in an advertisement inserted in the 1882 edition of *The Notary's Nose*, ten titles were announced but never published by Vizetelly & Co., as shown in Figure 2.

Thirdly, a number of books were published by the firm but not advertised (either in the available catalogues or in the *Publishers' Circular*). This is particularly true for the years 1887-1890: *Illustrations to Rabelais*, and *Illustrations to La Fontaine's Tales* (1887, no text), Albéric Second, *The Wheel of Fortune* (1889), Percy Fitzgerald, *King Theodore of Corsica* (1890), Francis Williams Adams, *Songs of the Army of the Night* (1890), or Robert Brough,

Songs of the Governing Classes (1890) – which had been published by Henry Vizetelly in 1855 – , are not in the catalogues that were consulted or in the *Publishers' Circular*. An interesting case is *Mr. Barnes from New York*, by Archibald Gunter, which was not advertised (in the catalogues or in the *Publishers' Circular*) but was published in 1887 both by Vizetelly & Co. and by Routledge. On the other hand, Mérimée's *Carmen and Colomba* (1881) appears in the catalogues but not in the *Publishers' Circular*, whereas Boisgobey's *Cash on Delivery* (1887) is in the *Publishers' Circular* but not in the firm's catalogues.

Bearing in mind these caveats, the following figures are, one hopes, as close as possible to the truth: between May 1880 and December 1890, Vizetelly & Co. published approximately 250 titles by about 110 authors. Included in these figures are Henry's books, as well as the books edited, anonymously, by Ernest Vizetelly (*The Popular Life of the Right Honourable W.E. Gladstone*, 1880, and *Gordon and the Mahdi*, 1885, among others). Also taken into account are various pseudonyms: Mabel Robinson, for example, the author of *Mr. Butler's Ward* and *Disenchantment*, also published *Irish History for English Readers* under the pseudonym of W.S. Gregg with Vizetelly & Co.

The annual cycle of book publication was quite variable, as shown in Figure 3. It went from nine titles published in 1880, down to six titles in 1882, to as many as eighty-five titles in 1887, including all formats and "new" editions. It should be noted that ten titles by Zola and twelve by Boisgobey were published in 1887, making up one quarter of the production for that year. Most of the titles were offered in numerous formats: with or without illustrations, in cloth binding or paperback, from pocket book to large royal paper sizes with ornamental covers blocked in various colours.

It should be added that Henry Vizetelly published extensively in paperback editions, at the popular price of one shilling. These books were small and colourful, the covers being printed in bright red or pink, and featuring a garland held by *puttis*, making the books immediately recognizable to the readers. To keep the prices low, like several of his fellow publishers, he inserted advertisements, perhaps trying, as in the case of the Popular French Novels series, to match the advertisements with the contents of the books.

Sample of books advertised by Vizetelly & Co. (in the

Title	French Edition	Vizetelly & Co.
BENTZON, Th., *Un remords*	Calmann Lévy, 1878	Never published
CHERBULIEZ, V., *L'idée de Jean Têterol*	Hachette, 1877	Never published
DAUDET, A., *Jack*	Dentu, 1876	Never published
DAUDET, A., *Le petit Chose*	Hetzel, 1878	Never published
GAUTIER, T., *Le capitaine Fracasse*	Charpentier, 1863	Never published
GREVILLE, H., *Marier sa fille*	Plon, 1878	Never published
GREVILLE, H., *Ariadne*	Plon, 1878	Never published
MALOT, H., *Sans famille*	Dentu, 1879	Never published
SANDEAU, J., *Mademoiselle de la Seiglière*	Lévy Frères, 1847 -Charpentier, 1850	Never published
THEURIET, A., *Le mariage de Gérard*	Charpentier, 1875	Never published

Popular French Novels series) but never published by the firm

British Translations	American Translations
The Wish of his Life, Bentley & Sons, 1878 (2 vols)	*Jean Teterol's Idea, a Novel*, NY, Appleton & Co., 1878
	Jack, trans. by Mary Neal Sherwood, Boston, Estes and Lauriat, 1877; same trans. reprinted by Lovell & Co., 1885
	Jack, NY, G. Munro, 1879
	The Little Good-for-Nothing, trans. by Mary Neal Sherwood, Boston, Estes and Lauriat, 1878; same trans. reprinted by Lovell & Co., 1885
	Captain Fracasse, trans. by Ellen Murray Beam, NY, Putnam, 1880
No Relations, edited by May Laffan, Bentley & Sons, 1880 (3 vols); Bentley, 1881 (1 vol.); Bentley, illustrated edition, 1884; London, Hachette, 1888 (edition with French-English vocabulary and grammatical comments)	
Mademoiselle de la Seiglière, trans. by Henry Christie Steel, with historical and grammatical notes, Macmillan's Series of Foreign School Classics, 1885	*Mademoiselle de la Seiglière*, NY, Appleton & Co., 1902
	Gerard's Marriage, NY, Appleton & Co., 1877
	The Marriage of Gerard, trans. by Mary Lindsay Watkins, Chicago, Laird & Lee, 1891

The reader could find advertising for sewing machines, Rowland's products, Whelpton's Pills, Moët & Chandon Champagne, and The French Jewellery Company, as well as the other books published by the firm (see Figure 4). These products seemed to target a predominantly female readership for this particular series, which claimed to feature "unobjectionable French novels".

Vizetelly & Co. published about 140 French titles in English translation (including Zola), out of the 250 or so titles, representing just over half of the catalogue, which seems to be a very large figure for such a small firm. French authors represent forty-eight of the 110 writers (43%). But four of these form the lion's share of the "French catalogue", accounting for 55% of the total number of French titles: Fortuné du Boisgobey, with thirty-nine titles; Émile Zola, with eighteen titles; Émile Gaboriau, with twelve titles; and Georges Ohnet, with seven titles. These four authors make up almost one-third of the entire catalogue with seventy-six titles between them.

The Series

Even a cursory look at the general catalogue of Vizetelly & Co., between 1880 and 1890, reveals broad interests (if variety is a virtue in the publishing world).[9] However, underneath the appearance of randomness in the editorial choices, there is coherence, that arises from two factors: firstly, half of the titles are translations from French, and secondly, most of the titles published by the firm during the decade were organized into "series". This last factor mirrors the situation prevailing in Western Europe, from the mid-1830s, when the concepts of "series", and "library", were rapidly gaining currency, particularly in France, Germany and England, as Isabelle Olivero has shown in *L'invention de la collection*.[10] Several parallels can be drawn between Gervais Charpentier, the French publisher (whose son Georges would become Zola's publisher), and Henry Vizetelly. Charpentier pioneered, for the French market, the concept of collections or series made up of relatively inexpensive books, easily recognizable, in small format, and, first and foremost, constituted by "modern classic authors". The notion of modern classic authors is certainly open to interpretation, but it excludes, for example, "how-to" books and self-improvement

books, as well as the classics of the past.[11] Vizetelly had planned, as early as 1850, a number of series along the same lines, and he was to include several of Charpentier's titles in his catalogues of the 1880s. The Vizetelly & Co. series group the works according to different schemes:

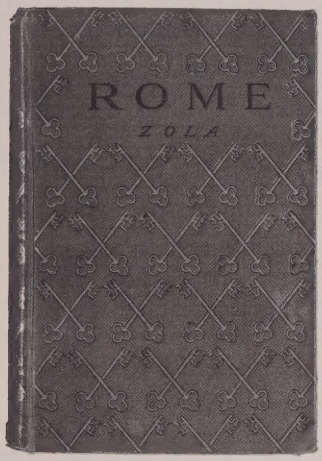
- by language, like the Celebrated Russian Novels, or the Popular French Novels. Other series were also based on language (pointing in the direction of foreign literature), although the name of the series is not always descriptive, like the Boulevard Novels, the Celebrated Sensational Novels, or the Capital Stories (all translations from French);
- by genre, like the Mermaid Series, which reissued great plays of the Restoration (unabridged and unexpurgated). Havelock Ellis suggested the idea of this series to Henry Vizetelly, probably around 1886.[12] At the time, the firm was located on Catherine Street, Strand, in the theatre district, right next door to the Drury Lane Theatre, and thus it made good business sense to launch such a series, as Eleanor Marx wrote to Ellis: "Among actors the series should be much read. I know of many who complain that they can only read the older dramatists by going to the Museum, which naturally few have time to do";[13]
- by book format, like the Vizetelly's One-Volume Novels; this scheme was an attack on the three-decker system, which kept Mudie's and Smith's circulating libraries in business, and which also had the collateral effect of maintaining high book prices (31s. 6d.);
- by book price, like the Sixpenny Series of Amusing and Entertaining Books, the Miscellaneous Shilling Books, or the Vizetelly's Half-Crown Series, the latter price having also been used in the 1850s by Henry Vizetelly for his Contemporary French Literature series;[14]
- best-selling authors also had their own series, like Émile Gaboriau and Fortuné du Boisgobey, two mystery novelists highly popular in France as well as in England and Continental Europe (Gaboriau was dubbed "the favourite reading of Prince Bismarck" in the Vizetelly & Co. catalogues); or like George Augustus Sala and Eustace Clare Grenville-Murray, George Moore and Émile Zola.

In all, there were twenty-one series, published between 1880 and 1890, and twenty-two if one adds a "no series" series (comprised of books that do not fall under any of the series listed below):

- Du Boisgobey's Sensational Novels (39 titles)[15]
- Boulevard Novels (8 titles)
- Capital Stories (5 titles)
- Celebrated Russian Novels (10 titles)
- Cream of the Diarists and Memoir Writers (1 title)
- French Sensational Novels (also called Celebrated Sensational Novels, 7 titles)
- Gaboriau's Sensational Novels (12 titles)[16]
- Grenville-Murray (7 titles, not including his contributions to *The Social Zoo*)
- The Mermaid Series (14 titles)
- Miscellaneous Shilling books (9 titles)
- Moore's Realistic Novels (6 titles)
- People who have made a noise in the world (2 titles)
- Popular French Novels (15 titles)
- Sala (5 titles)
- Sixpenny Series of Amusing and Entertaining Books (also called Vizetelly's Amusing Books, 15 titles)
- The Social Zoo (counted here as 1 title)
- Henry Vizetelly's Books (6 titles)
- Vizetelly's Half-Crown Series (10 titles)
- Vizetelly's One-Volume Novels (32 titles)
- Zola's Realistic Novels (18 titles)
- Eighteenth-Century Illustrated Books (6 titles)
- "No Series books" (25 titles)

The series account for almost 80% of the catalogue of Vizetelly & Co. and include paperbacks as well as cloth bindings, some quite plain, others being more elaborate, such as the books by Grenville-Murray, whose covers feature elaborate illustrations blocked in two or three colours.

The "No Series books" were comprised of an assortment of seemingly unrelated books, although the appearance of unrelatedness may be deceiving. This peculiar series does not feature a literary genre, nor do its titles follow a specific editorial pattern. The



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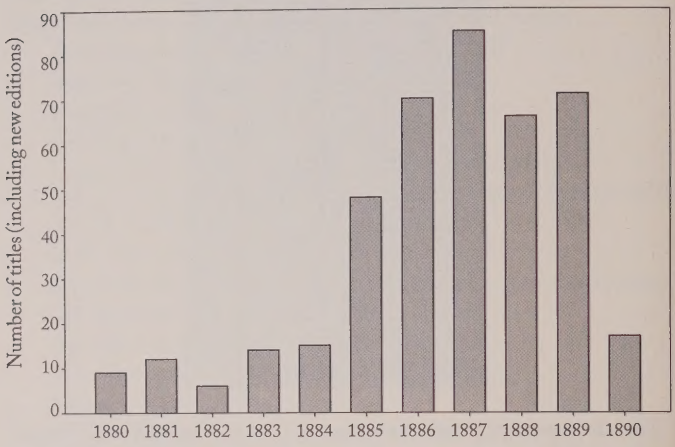
titles do, however, reveal the extent of Henry Vizetelly's family and friends. *The Popular Life of the Right Honorable W.E. Gladstone*, "profusely illustrated", was published anonymously in 1880, but was the work of Ernest Vizetelly, Henry's fourth son from his first marriage. Ernest was to become Zola's "official" translator from 1892 to 1902, translating the new works of Zola, issued by Chatto & Windus (among which are *The Downfall*, 1892; *Rome*, 1894; *Paris*, 1898; *Fruitfulness*, 1902, etc.).[17] As well, during the last decade of the century, he "re-edited" (and bowdlerized) some of Zola's novels issued by Vizetelly & Co. in the 1880s: *The Ladies' Paradise* and *A Love Episode*, in 1895, with Hutchinson & Co.; *The Fat and the Thin* (1896), *The Dram-Shop* (1897), *The Fortune of the Rougons* (1898), *Abbé Mouret's Transgression* (1900), etc., with Chatto & Windus.

Dr. Phillips (1887), by Frank Danby, is another interesting case. Danby was in fact Julia Frankau, author of books on eighteenth century artists, and of *The Story of Emma, Lady Hamilton*, published by Macmillan in 1911. Her sister, Eliza Aria, herself a fashion journalist of some repute, was for a time George Moore's mistress. Moore was a Vizetelly & Co. author, at least for a time. Among other books, his *Literature at Nurse*, a direct attack on the circulating libraries, is noteworthy: the pamphlet sold for three pence, the lowest price of any book published by Vizetelly & Co.

FIGURE THREE

Vizetelly & Co. publications 1880 – 1890



Moore was also instrumental in introducing Mabel Robinson to Vizetelly and Co., where she published *Mr. Butler's Ward* (1885), *Disenchantment: An Every-day Story* (1886), and *The Plan of Campaign* (1888), three novels dealing with the ever-irritating Irish question.[18] In the "No Series books", Robinson published *Irish History for English Readers* (which sold for 1s. under an unmistakable bright yellow and green cover). *Society Novelettes* (1883), a collection of short stories, featured "No Rose without a Thorn" by F.C. Burnand, the editor of *Punch* and a friend of Henry Vizetelly. James Greenwood (*In Strange Company, being the Experiences of a Roving Correspondent*, 1883) was the younger brother of Frederick Greenwood, the editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette* and *The St. James Gazette*. The elder Greenwood and Vizetelly had long been working together, and their friendship, started in the 1840s, endured, in spite of Greenwood's disapproval of his friend's activities as a publisher. During the summer of 1889, referring to Henry Vizetelly's imprisonment after the May 1889 obscenity trial, Greenwood wrote to his daughter Kate:

> I have told [Annie Vizetelly] that her father, while he is in the infirmary, is as well cared for as he would be out of gaol – the

> prison walls being the only but the unavoidable difference: and that when he comes out of the infirmary we will see what can be done to make him more comfortable. The truth is, Kate, that he does deserve his punishment; and if he were a younger man I should not pity him in the least. On the other hand, offences of that sort are worse in an old man than a young one.[19]

Walter Parke was a humorist. He published *Lays of the Saintly* (1883), *Patter Poems* (1885), and *Songs of Singularity* (1885) with the firm. He was to marry the widow of Montague Bascombe Vizetelly, the son of James Vizetelly (Henry's brother). The "No Series books" is, in a way, a "series for friends and family".

Case Studies

Each series offers particular insights into the editorial decisions of the firm. The Mermaid series intended to tap a market that was at hand because of the very location of the firm, *i.e.* the actors and the theatre-goers. But the series could appeal to learned readers as well: each book was presented with an elaborate introduction written by a scholar of repute, with notes, etc. This strategy was probably used to avoid prosecution for publishing Restoration plays, although it did fail in some cases. The first volume of the series was *Marlowe's Plays* (April 1887), edited by Havelock Ellis. There had been some immediate protest, not so much about the plays themselves, but chiefly because of "certain religious opinions attributed to Marlowe". In the first *Philip Massinger* volume (also published in April 1887), edited by Arthur Symons, the reader found the following warning:

> Objections having been made in various quarters to passages having reference to certain religious opinions attributed to Marlowe, contained in the Appendix to the above work, the Publishers beg to announce the issue of a new edition in which the passages excepted to have been suppressed. Booksellers and others desirous of being furnished with cancel pages in lieu of pages 429, 430, and 431 of the first edition are requested to apply to the Publishers, 42, Catherine Street, Strand.

The two series based on price (Sixpenny Series of Amusing Books, Half-Crown Series – and later the Miscellaneous Shilling Books)

as well as the One-Volume Novels were directed at a less affluent readership. Along with the Realistic Novels, the French language-based series were targeting the unilingual "amateur de nouveautés", *i.e.*, the reader eager to get acquainted with the latest French fiction but who could not read it in the original language.

It should be noted that several periodicals reviewed French novels directly from the French text, and that British critics were often dismissive of unilingual readers. For example, the *Academy and Literature*, reviewing André Theuriet's *Maugars Junior* (23 October 1880), mocked those who were "too lazy to read anything in a foreign tongue". *The Athenaeum* of 7 August 1880, after praising the Vizetelly translations of Daudet's *Fromont the Younger and Risler the Elder* and Theuriet's *Maugars Junior*, added: "We must, however, give notice that we cannot go on reviewing these books. If English publishers find it profitable to translate well-known French novels by the dozen, by all means let them do so; but they must not expect to have their versions criticized". In spite of this high-brow attitude from the establishment, the series, their organization, and the editorial choices of the firm reveal how Henry Vizetelly interpreted what he perceived to be interesting and potentially lucrative niches in the book market.

In the context of the present essay, it is not possible to look at each series individually, and to explore the rationale behind them. Two case studies will illustrate two of the numerous strategies pursued by Henry Vizetelly.

I. Popular French Novels: "Only Works of an Unobjectionable Character"

This is the very first series published by Henry Vizetelly, with which he launched his publishing house in 1880. It is also the series that remained the most stable during the decade 1880-1890 (Figure 5), the fifteen titles having been published by 1882. The series never grew and the titles were never cross-listed with other series. In the Vizetelly & Co. catalogue of January 1889 (probably the last one issued by the firm),[20] the series was still advertised, and the publicity announcement devised in 1880 was still being used.

In fact, when Henry Vizetelly launched the Popular French Novels Series, he was entering a specific market where he had to

compete with Remington & Co., Bentley & Sons, and Ward, Lock & Co., among others. These publishers were already engaged in publishing French novels in English translation, so there obviously was a demand for such fiction. In the Vizetelly & Co. issue of *Fromont the Younger and Risler the Elder*, by Alphonse Daudet (1880), an advertisement was inserted, describing the Popular French Novels series:

> London Managers run eagerly after the plays of modern French Dramatists, and produce them with much success at our principal Theatres, whereas London Publishers rarely venture upon issuing Translations of new French Novels. Yet the latter are equally good with the former, which indeed they commonly suggest. To test whether English novel readers, unconversant with the French language, are not as appreciative of clever works of fiction as English playgoers are of clever dramas and operas bouffes, this series of Translations of some of the very best and newest French Novels had been undertaken. It may be mentioned that especial care has been bestowed on the selection, only those works of unobjectionable character, and which can be presented to the English reader in an unabridged form, having been chosen.

The text of the advertisement can be read as an editorial program, as well as an advertising program. This particular advertisement gives the reader a number of clues about what Henry Vizetelly had in mind: the excitement created by novelty, the appetite of the reader for "dangerous" French fiction, with, nonetheless, the guarantee of moral safety. In spite of these promises, it seems that Henry Vizetelly did not always closely follow his editorial program. The series has more variety than can be suspected from the advertisement, and is not as bland as was apparently intended. The Popular French Novels series includes fifteen titles in all, ranging from "serious" fiction, like Mérimée's *Carmen* and *Colomba*, to "divertissement léger", like Edmond About, *Le nez d'un notaire* [*The Notary's Nose*].

The series certainly includes some truly "unobjectionable" novels, like the works of Henry Gréville (pseudonym of Alice Durand). This prolific author, wife of a French diplomat in Russia

List of advertisements in the Popular French Novels Series

Ed. ABOUT, *A New Lease of Life*

Ed. ABOUT, *The Notary's Nose*

A. BELOT, *The Drama of the Rue de la Paix*

V. CHERBULIEZ, *Samuel Brohl*

V. CHERBULIEZ, *Blue-Eyed Meta Holdenis*

V. CHERBULIEZ, *The Low-Born Lover*

A. DAUDET, *Fromont Senior & Risler Junior*

O. FEUILLET, *A Woman's Diary*

P. FÉVAL, *The Three Red Knights*

H. GREVILLE, *Wayward Dosia*

H. MALOT, *Dr. Claude*

MÉRIMÉE, *Colomba and Carmen*

G. SAND, *The Tower of Percemont*

A. THEURIET, *The Godson of a Marquis*

A. THEURIET, *Maugars Junior*

(as found in the British Library copies)

Back cover: Willcox and Gibbs "Automatic" Silent Sewing Machine

Back cover: Gaboriau's Sensational Novels

Rowland's Macassar Oil, Rowland's Odonto ("pearl dentifrice"), Oldridge's Balm of Columbia (hair colour), The French Jewellery Company ("Imitation Jewellery for Drawing-Room Wear"), Whelpton's Pills ("purifying pills"), Mrs. S.A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, Birkbeck Bank, Lamplough's Pyretic Saline ("invigorating beverage"), Vizetelly & Co. books (Gaboriau, Sala)

Rowland's Macassar Oil, Rowland's Odonto, Oldridge's Balm of Columbia, The French Jewellery Company, Whelpton's Pills, Lamplough's Pyretic Saline, Birkbeck Bank, Vizetelly & Co. books (Sala, Popular French Novels, Grenville-Murray)

Rowland's Macassar Oil, Rowland's Odonto, Stephen's Writing and Copying Inks, Vizetelly & Co. books (Popular French Novels, Gaboriau, Grenville-Murray, Sala)

Vizetelly & Co. books (Popular French Novels)

Rowland's Macassar Oil, Rowland's Odonto, Oldridge's Balm of Columbia, The French Jewellery Company, Whelpton's Pills, Lamplough's Pyretic Saline, Mrs. S.A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, Birkbeck Bank, Vizetelly & Co. books (Grenville-Murray, Popular French Novels)

Vizetelly & Co. books (Popular French Novels)

Nothing in the British Library copy

Whelpton's Pills, Daniel Judson & Son (artist's material), Hoven's improved patent stocking suspender, Mr. Streeter (Goldsmith, jeweller & watch-maker), Moët & Chandon Champagne, Rimmel's Choice Perfumery, Vizetelly & Co. books (Popular French Novels, Gaboriau, Grenville-Murray, 3rd edition of *The Story of the Diamond Necklace* by H. Vizetelly)

Nothing in the British Library copy

Back cover: Treloar & Sons Floor decorators (persian carpets), Vizetelly & Co. books (Popular French Novels)

Vizetelly & Co. books (Popular French Novels)

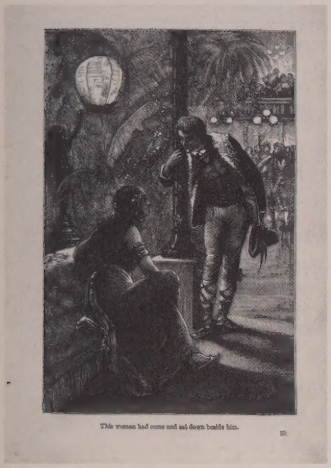
Back cover: Willcox and Gibbs "Automatic" Silent Sewing Machine, Vizetelly & Co. books (Popular French Novels, Gaboriau)

Rowland's Macassar Oil, Rowland's Odonto, Oldridge's Balm of Columbia, The French Jewellery Company, Whelpton's Pills, Vizetelly & Co. books (Popular French Novels, biography of Gladstone, Sala), H. Vizetelly books: *The Story of the Diamond Necklace, Berlin under the New Empire* (Tinsley), *Popular books on Wine* (Ward, Lock & Co.)

(which explains why most of her novels are set in St. Petersburg), specialized in innocuous novels for the "young lady". The same can be said of André Theuriet, and certainly of Octave Feuillet, the favourite author of the Empress Eugénie. Until his death in 1890, Feuillet was to remain an "écrivain mondain", depicting high society and defending family values. Several of their books won various "prix de vertu" (morality prizes). Works by these three authors could undoubtedly be left in the drawing-room without any risk.

The series also included authors like Adolphe Belot, Paul Féval, and Hector Malot, the latter two being extraordinarily popular authors in France. Féval had started his career in the 1840s, as a "roman d'aventures" writer. In 1844, he published *Les Mystères de Londres*, which was a tremendous success, following Eugène Sue's *Mystères de Paris* (1842). Along with Ponson du Terrail, Alexandre Dumas, and Eugène Sue, Féval had been an inspiration to a generation of young French writers eager to make money and to have a taste of fame by writing popular novels that were serialized in mainstream newspapers. Hector Malot's first novel, *Les Amants* (1859), was widely acclaimed and critics dubbed him a "nouveau Balzac". As prolific as Féval, Malot published seventy novels between 1859 and 1896. His best selling novel, the one for which he is best remembered today, is *Sans Famille*, the story of the tribulations of an orphan. It became an instant classic with children. In a letter to his publisher, Flammarion, Malot wrote, on 5 February 1901:

> Aussitôt que le nouveau tirage de *Sans famille* que vous m'avez annoncé sera fait, voulez-vous avoir la complaisance de m'envoyer mes exemplaires car je n'en ai pas un seul et j'en ai besoin. Voici dans quelles circonstances.
>
> La Ligue fraternelle des Enfants de France de Pontarlier a mis *Sans famille* en lecture parmi ses membres et cet exemplaire a été tellement lu qu'il s'est trouvé usé; alors une jeune fille a récrit de mémoire la page manquante; on l'a intercalée dans le volume, que la Présidente de la Ligue m'envoie en m'écrivant cette histoire peu banale. Vous comprenez que je dois tenir à remercier cette jeune fille, et je n'ai justement pas d'exemplaire à lui envoyer.[21]



This woman had come and sat down beside him.

She waited for him in front of the café.

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Alphonse Daudet, George Sand and Prosper Mérimée, who were considered "serious" writers, were featured as well in the series. Daudet's works seem to have been much in demand by British publishers. For example, in March 1886, *Sappho* was published simultaneously by Vizetelly & Co. (2s. edition) and by J & R Maxwell (1s. 6d. edition). *The Prodigious Adventures of Tartarin de Tarascon* was published in May 1887 by Maxwell (6d. edition) and a month later by Vizetelly & Co. (6d. edition).

The series also included Émile Gaboriau, the prolific mystery writer, who ended up having his own series (*In Peril of his Life*, the story of a torrid love affair which ends with a murder, was first "tried out" in the Popular French Novels series' advertisements). Finally, a few authors have their place on the slightly "racier" side of things: Victor Cherbuliez's *Mehta Holdenis* is the story of a young governess who tries to seduce her employer (who, himself, is living "in sin" with a woman of quality, who cannot bring her husband to grant her a divorce); Edmond About's *The Notary's Nose* is the story of a bachelor who loses his nose in a duel over an actress, and who tries to "re-grow" it using very dubious methods.

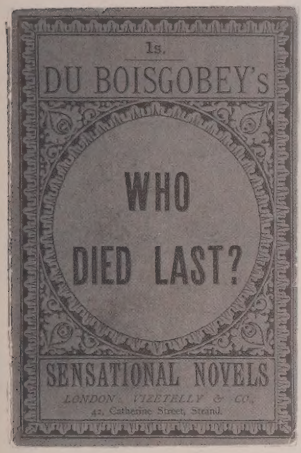
The adjective "newest", used in the advertisement quoted earlier, needs a word of explanation. The original dates of publication, in French, vary from 1841 (for *Colomba*) to 1879 for Hector

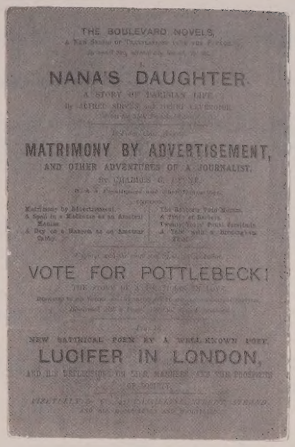
Malot. Of the fifteen titles, three were published between 1840 and 1850,[22] three between 1851 and 1870,[23] and nine in the 1870s.[24] Seven titles appeared in serial form in the *Revue des deux mondes*, a prestigious literary and political journal, before being published in book form. Finally, the books come from various publishers, all of them well-known and well-respected: Hachette (four titles), Michel Lévy (three titles) and Charpentier (three titles), Comon (two titles), Dentu, Plon, and Hetzel (one title each). Moreover, four titles had been previously published by British publishers (by Remington & Co. and Bentley & Sons) and eight titles by American publishers (mostly by Appleton & Co. and J.W. Lovell & Co.) (see Figure 5).

This being said, there was certainly a demand for these books, some of them being reissued two or three times by Vizetelly & Co., and reaching sales of 20,000 copies between 1880 and 1886, as was the case for A. Daudet's *Fromont the Younger and Risler the Elder*, André Theuriet's *Maugars Junior*, and Adolphe Belot's *Drama of the Rue de la Paix*. Furthermore, most of the titles of the series remained in print, with various American and British publishers, for several decades after their being issued by Vizetelly & Co., testifying to the proprietor's "flair" for anticipating his readers' tastes.

II. Fortuné du Boisgobey

If a publisher issues thirty-nine titles by the same author, there has to be a reason. Fortuné du Boisgobey is almost entirely forgotten today, but he was a best-selling author for more than two decades, from the early 1870s, to his death on 26 February 1891. He is still awaiting the interest of scholars, and very little has been written on the "second Gaboriau", as he was mockingly dubbed by several of his (very envious) fellow writers.[25] Du Boisgobey was born into a well-off family in 1821. After living the fast life in Paris, gambling and flirting, he was forced to seek employment, when his family refused to pay his debts. Following a few unhappy months as a "fonctionnaire des impôts", he turned to literature like many of his contemporaries, and published his first story, *Les deux comédiens*, in *Le Petit Journal* (30 August-27 October 1868). It did not bring in much, as the author was unknown: 1,160 francs for 9,500 lines of





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text (12 centimes per line). A year and a half later, Boisgobey was commanding more respectable sums for his novels, and newspapers were asking for more substantial works, as his mysteries appealed to readers and boosted the sales of the papers. *Les Gredins*, for example, published in *Le Petit Moniteur universel du soir* (30 April - 7 October 1870) brought him 12,276,80 francs for 61,467 lines of text (19 centimes per line). In the mid 1880s, at the height of his career, Boisgobey could command up to 50 centimes per line, as in the case of *Babiole*, published in *Le Petit Parisien* in 1884.

The competition for Boisgobey's novels was quite fierce among British publishers in the 1880s. For example, *The Old Age of Lecoq* was published first in February 1885 by Ward, Lock & Co. (2 vols, 1s. each), and then again in May by Vizetelly & Co., along with *An Omnibus Mystery* (1 vol., 2s. 6d.). In 1886, Maxwell & Co. issued, among five other titles by Boisgobey, *Blue Veil, or The Angel of the Belfry* in May, while in October Vizetelly & Co. published the same novel, under the title *The Angels of the Chimes*.[26] The following year, Maxwell published five of Boisgobey's novels, Routledge three, and Vizetelly & Co. outstripped them by publishing twelve. One may call it strategy by the numbers.

The books sold very well. For Vizetelly & Co., Boisgobey's and Gaboriau's novels are the only ones for which figures are available.

Popular French Novels Series – Dates of publication

Title	French Edition	Vizetelly & Co.
ABOUT, Ed., *L'homme à l'oreille cassée*	Hachette, 1862	*A New Lease on Life, and Saving a Daughter's Dowry*, 1880
"Sans dot", in *Trente et Quarante*	Hachette, 1859	
ABOUT, Ed., *Le nez d'un notaire*	Michel Lévy, 1862	*The Notary's Nose*, 1882
BELOT, Ad., *Le drame de la rue de la Paix*	Serials: *L'Événement*, 1865 Book: M. Lévy, 1866	*The Drama of the rue de la Paix*, trans. by H.M. Dunstan, 1880
CHERBULIEZ, V., *Samuel Brohl et compagnie*	Serials: *Revue des deux mondes* (*RDDM*), Feb.-April 1877 Book: Hachette, 1877	*Samuel Brohl & Partner*, 1880
CHERBULIEZ, V., *Mehta Holdenis*	Serials: *RDDM*, Jan.-Feb. 1873 Book: Hachette, 1873	*Blue-Eyed Mehta Holdenis*, and
"Le roi Apépi" in *Amours fragiles*	Book: Hachette, 1880	*A Stroke of Diplomacy*, 1881
CHERBULIEZ, V, *La revanche de Joseph Noirel*	Serials: *RDDM*, July-Oct. 1871 Book: Hachette, 1872	*The Low-Born Lover's Revenge*, 1881
DAUDET, A., *Fromont jeune et Risler aîné*	Charpentier, 1874	*Fromont the Younger and Risler the Elder*, trans. by Edward Vizetelly, 1880
FEUILLET, O., *Le journal d'une femme*	Serials: *RDDM*, July-Aug. 1878 Book: Calmann-Lévy, 1878	*A Woman's Diary* and *The Little Countess*, 1881
"La petite comtesse"	Michel Lévy, 1857	

British Translations	American Translations
	A new Lease of Life, and Saving a Daughter's Dowry, NY, Lovell & Co., 1883
The Lawyer's Nose: a story, trans. by J.E. Maitland, Remington & Co., 1878 (2 vols)	*The Nose of a Notary*, Boston, Loring, 1863
	The Notary's Nose, trans. by H. Holt, NY, H. Holt and Co., 1874
A Tragedy Indeed, trans. by H.M. Dunstan, Remington & Co., 1878 (2 vols)	*The Tragedy in the rue de la Paix*, NY, Street & Smith, 1891
	Samuel Brohl and Company, trans. by Arthur Forestier, NY, Appleton & Co., 1877 (and 1902)
	Samuel Brohl and Company, trans. by James Cottrell, NY, G. Munro, 1878
	Samuel Brohl and Partner, NY, Lovell & Co., 1883
	Mehta Holdenis, NY, Appleton & Co., 1877
	A Stroke of Diplomacy, NY, Appleton & Co., 1880
	Le roi Apepi, with a preface and explanatory notes in English by Prof. Albert Schniz, NY, W.R. Jenkins, 1902
Fromont the Younger and Risler the Elder, trans. by Edward Vizetelly, Hutchinson & Co., 1895	*Fromont and Risler*, Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1899 (2 vols.)
The Journal of a Woman, Ward, Lock & Co., 1885	*The Diary of a Woman*, NY, Appleton & Co., 1879

Popular French Novels Series – Dates of publication

Title	French Edition	Vizetelly & Co.
FÉVAL, P., *Le fils du diable ou les trois hommes rouges*	Comon, 1846	*The Three Red Knights, or The Brother's Vengeance*, 1882
GREVILLE, H., *Dosia*	Plon, 1876	*Wayward Dosia and The Generous Diplomatist*, 1880
MALOT, H., *Le Docteur Claude*	Dentu, 1879	*Dr. Claude or Love Rendered Desperate*, 1882
MÉRIMÉE, *Colomba*	Comon, 1841	*Colomba*, and *Carmen*, 1881
Carmen	Serials: *RDDM*, Oct. 1845 Book: Lévy Frères, 1846	
SAND, G., *La tour de Percemont. Marianne*	Serials: *RDDM*, Dec. 1875-Jan. 1876 Book: Hetzel & Cie, 1876	*The Tower of Percemont, and Marianne*, 1881
THEURIET, A., *Le fils Maugars*	Charpentier, 1879	*Maugars Junior*, 1880
THEURIET, A., *Le filleul d'un marquis*	Serials: *RDDM*, Oct.-Nov. 1877 Book: Charpentier, 1878	*The Godson of a Marquis*, 1881

British Translations

Dosia, trans. by Celia, Charing Cross Publishing Co., 1881

Colomba, a Corsican Story, trans. by A.R. Scoble, 1853

Colomba, London, 1867

Colomba, a lyrical drama, founded on Mérimée's tale, by F.H. Hueffer, Tinsley Bros, 1883

Carmen, the Death of the Gipsy, trans. by H. Llewellyn Williams, E. Ashman & Co., 1880

Carmen, opera, English adaptation by H. Hersee, C. Dickens & Evans, 1880

Carmen, Routledge, 1887

American Translations

Dosia, trans. by Mary Neal Sherwood, Philadelphia, T.B. Peterson & Bros, 1878

Colomba, and *Carmen*, trans. by Lady Mary Lloyd, NY, Appleton & Co., 1901

The Tower of Percemont, NY, Appleton & Co., 1877

Young Maugars, NY, Appleton & Co., 1878

Godson of a Marquis, NY, Appleton & Co., 1902

These figures come from Francis Horace Vizetelly (Henry's first son from his second marriage). In December 1923, he wrote to his nephew René Victor (Ernest's son), sending him a number of books published by Vizetelly & Co. in the 1880s. A few weeks later, he sent as well what appear to be partial transcriptions (dated January 1924) of ledger books concerning the publication of the mystery novels.[27]

The figures given for Boisgobey's novels are not complete, but they give some sense of the commercial success of the French author in England. In the Vizetelly & Co. edition, *The Day of Reckoning* sold 30,000 copies; *In the Serpents' Coils*, 20,000; *The Old Age of Lecoq*, 12,000; *The Golden Pig*, 15,000; *The Detective's Eye*, 15,000; *The Crime of the Opera House*, 25,000; *The Jailer's Pretty Wife*, 15,000; *A Railway Tragedy*, 20,000. Francis Vizetelly reminded his nephew that these were not ordinary books:

> I need hardly tell you that these were the books upon which the Vizetelly Company based its success forty years ago. But for their publication and the success which we made with them, we would never have been able to carry on. If you will look at some of the volumes, you will see the announcement made on the title page that four hundred thousand copies of the books had been sold within eight years of their original publication.

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The firm did not entirely cease its operations after the disaster of 1889, and the publisher's imprisonment. Henry Vizetelly wanted to fight back, and to clear his reputation, which had been badly tarnished. He launched a new series, "People who Have made a Noise in the World". The series was to include popular biographies, but only two titles were published: *Theodore of Corsica*, by Percy Fitzgerald, and *Count Konigsmark and Tom of the Ten Thousand*, by Henry Vizetelly himself. More militant books were also issued by the firm, including Francis Adams, *Songs of the Army of the Night*, and Robert Brough, *Songs of the Governing Classes*. But the aging publisher had been hit badly, and he never fully recovered from his trials. On 19 May 1890, Henry Vizetelly wrote to his daughter, Annie:

> I enclose you the letters … belonging to Mr Grey. I have not copied them and should be glad if you would do so for me, though I fear that I shall make no use of them. I am not only very ill, but am worried to death in every way. Everything goes wrong though I strive and strive and work like a slave. I am at last tired of existence and I shall be glad when the moment of relief comes.[28]

After a life spent printing, engraving, and publishing books, Henry Vizetelly died on 1 January 1894, following a long and painful illness.

NOTES

1 Simon Eliot, "Hotten: Rotten: Forgotten? An Apologia for a General Publisher", *Book History* 3 (2000): 61-93.

2 Vizetelly Archives, Special Collections, University of Sussex at Brighton. These pages are concerned with Fortuné du Boisgobey's and Émile Gaboriau's novels.

3 British Library, Ashley 5090, vol. II, fol. 3-4. *The Social Zoo* had six titles: *Our Silvered Youth, Our Gilded Youth, Nobles Lords, Nice Girls*, and *Flirts* bear the signature of E.C. Grenville-Murray. *Military Men* was by Captain Dyne Fenton. Two of the illustrations used repeatedly over the years in the Vizetelly & Co. catalogues come from *Flirts*: the young man hiding behind the fan held by a young woman, and the head of the young woman used for advertising *Society Novelettes*. No reply from Swinburne could be traced, and it seems that he did not contribute to the series.

4 For example, the Flammarion Archives (located in the Institut Mémoires de l'édition contemporaine, in Paris) hold a "bon de commande", stating that the following books (almost certainly Vizetelly & Co. translations, judging from the titles) could be obtained from the French firm: "Zola. *Les Rougon-Macquart* (traduction anglaise dont la vente est interdite en Angleterre): *The Fortune of the Rougons, Fat and Thin, The Conquest of Plassans, Abbé Mouret's Transgression, His Excellency Eugène Rougon, The "Assommoir", His Masterpiece?, Thérèse Raquin, Madeleine Férat, A Love Episode, How Jolly Life is!, The Soil (La Terre)*".

5 For a very precise account of the real value of the Stationers' Hall Registry books, see Simon Eliot, "'Mr. Greenhill, whom you cannot get rid of': copyright, legal deposit and the Stationers' Company in the nineteenth century", in Myers, Harris, Mandelbrote (eds), *Libraries and the Book Trade* (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2000).

6 "Publishers' advertisements and catalogues, by their very nature, were promotional materials. They were and are, therefore, not a wholly reliable bibliographical source. Books were announced as 'ready' when they were not ready. Texts were promised as 'forthcoming' when they had yet to be submitted by their authors. Possible titles were waved in front of an audience in the interests of what one might politely call 'market research'; such titles might be little more than speculative whims of the publisher dragged like an angler's fly across the surface of the public's consciousness." (Eliot, "Hotten" 72). All these possibilities do apply to the activities of Vizetelly & Co., to various degrees.

7 Most of the books held in the British Library have been stripped of the catalogues inserted by the publisher. This list represents the catalogues found to date, through the holdings of various libraries, among which the British Library, Sussex University Library, the National Library of Canada, and the Library of Congress.

8 Sadleir mentions never having seen the book. Michael Sadleir, *XIX Century Fiction: A Bibliographical Record* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1951), II: 21.

9 Joel W. Wiener noted: "Vizetelly was not an ideological crusader, nor did he possess strong political convictions. His objective was simply to be able to sell books without hindrance and to earn a profit. Between 1880 and 1889 he published hundreds of volumes, which represented a curious blend of popular and 'quality' works.", "Vizetelly & Co.", in Patricia J. Anderson and Jonathan Rose (eds), *British Literary Publishing Houses, 1820-1880*, vol. 106 of the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 317.

10 Isabelle Olivero, *L'invention de la collection* (Paris: Éditions de l'Institut Mémoires de l'édition contemporaine (IMEC), 1999).

11 The "classic" authors of seventeenth-century France were very good sellers, and remained so with the development of series designed for the school system (especially "morceaux choisis"): Racine, Corneille, Molière, Boileau, Bossuet, Fenelon, etc. Gervais Charpentier distinguished himself from other French publishers by betting on contemporary authors, with a marked success. Between 1880 and 1890, Henry Vizetelly published several titles previously issued by Charpentier, among which: *Mémoires du Chevalier de Gramont* (1859), Mérimée, *Colomba* (1842), J. et E. de Goncourt, *Renée Mauperin* (1864) and *Germinie Lacerteux* (1865), Daudet, *Fromont Jeune et Risler aîné* (1874), André Theuriet, *Le filleul d'un Marquis* (1878) and *Le fils Maugars* (1879), and advertised (but never published), Jules Sandeau, *Mademoiselle de la Seiglière* (1852), and T. Gautier, *Capitaine Fracasse* (1863).

12 Ellis told the story twice, once in an article published in *The Modern Monthly*, in September 1935, and a second time in his *Autobiography* (Heinemann, 1940).

13 Ellis, *The Modern Monthly*, September 1935, 291.

14 Little is known of this venture, involving Henry and James Vizetelly. In 1853, the firm issued a catalogue advertising the Contemporary French Literature series: "Under the above title it is proposed to publish Monthly, in Half-Crown Volumes, the *chefs d'oeuvres* [sic] of those living writers of France, whose literary reputation, and the purity of whose style, cannot fail to render an English translation of their best works acceptable to the Reading Public." The series was to include such writers as Madame Guizot, Alphonse Karr, Madame Girardin, Louis Reybaud, Alphonse de Lamartine, Gérard de Nerval, Prosper Mérimée, etc. In all, 22 authors were named, although only a handful were actually published.

15 Several of Boisgobey's novels were published in a "two-in-one" format, *Bertha's Secret and Who Died Last?*, for example, in May 1885. They sold for 2s. 6d., as opposed to 1s. for a single novel. These double issues are not recorded here.

16 Several of Gaboriau's novels, like Boisgobey's, were published in a "two-in-one" format, *The Dossier 113 and The Little Old Man of Batignolles*, for example, in April 1885. They also sold for 2s. 6d., as opposed to 1s. for a single novel. These double issues are not recorded here.

17 The correspondence between Ernest Vizetelly and Zola has been published by Dorothy E. Speirs and Yannick Portebois, *'Mon cher maître': Lettres d'Ernest Vizetelly à Émile Zola 1891–1902* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2002).

18 Brendan Fleming has studied this question: "The First English Translation of *La Terre* (1888): An Assessment of the Letters from Vizetelly & Co. to Émile Zola", *Publishing History* 50 (2001).

19 Quoted in J.W. Robertson Scott, *The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette, of its first editor, Frederick Greenwood, and of its founder George Murray Smith* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), 379.

20 This catalogue was inserted in *The Diaries and Letters of Madame d'Arblay*. It lists some of the books published by Vizetelly & Co., mostly novels, and leaves out a number of largely illustrated books, like *The Popular Life of the Right Honourable W.E. Gladstone*, "profusely illustrated", published in 1880.

21 Archives Flammarion, Institut Mémoire de l'édition contemporaine (IMEC), dossier Malot, letter no 3.

22 Mérimée, *Colomba* (Comon, 1841) and *Carmen* (Lévy Frères, 1846), both short stories published in one volume by Vizetelly & Co.; Paul Féval, *Le fils du diable ou les trois hommes rouges* (Comon, 1846).

23 Edmond About, *L'homme à l'oreille cassée* (Hachette, 1862) and *Le nez d'un notaire* (Michel Lévy, 1862); Adolphe Belot, *Le drame de la rue de la Paix* (Michel Lévy, 1866).

24 Victor Cherbuliez, *Samuel Brohl et Compagnie* (Hachette, 1877), *Mehta Holdenis* (Hachette 1873) and *La revanche de Joseph Noirel* (Hachette, 1872); Alphonse Daudet, *Fromont jeune et Risler aîné* (Charpentier, 1874); Octave Feuillet, *Le journal d'une femme* (Calmann-Lévy, 1878); Émile Gaboriau, *La corde au cou* (Dentu, 1873); Henry Greville, *Dosia* (Plon, 1876); Hector Malot, *Le Docteur Claude* (Dentu, 1879); George Sand, *La tour de Percemont. Marianne* (Hetzel & Cie, 1876); André Theuriet, *Le filleul d'un marquis* (Charpentier, 1878); *Le fils Maugars* (Charpentier, 1879).

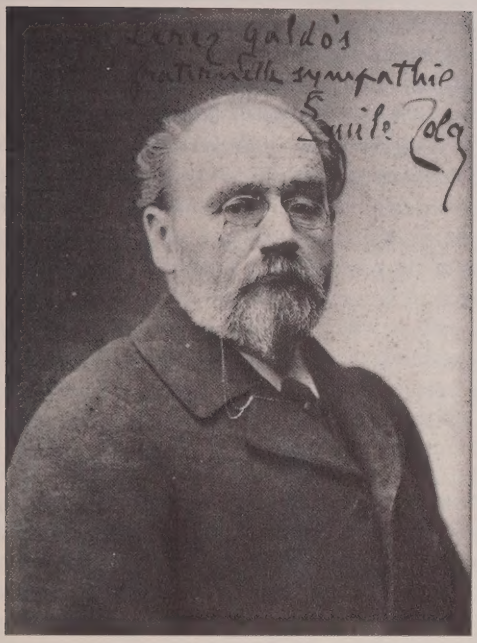
25 The most detailed bibliography of Boisgobey has been established by Thierry Chevrier, "Histoire d'une redécouverte: Fortuné du Boisgobey, le Gaboriau méconnu", *Le Rocambole*, 1, printemps 1997.

26 *L'ange du bourdon* was serialised in *La France*, from 24 January to 9 April 1885, and published in book form by Plon, in October 1885, under the title *La voilette bleue*. Vizetelly & Co. used the title of the serials, while Maxwell used the title of the book, and as a sub-title, the title of the serials.

27 Vizetelly Archives, Special Collections, University of Sussex at Brighton.

28 Collection of Captain Glen James Vizetelly.

Émile Zola's Novels



When Vizetelly & Co.'s first Zola translation, *Nana*, appeared in England in 1884, Zola was France's most widely-read and most talked-about novelist. Barely a day went by without his name appearing in some context in the Paris newspapers – rumours about the subject of his next novel, reports of his attendance at a dinner or a play, articles on his latest work. A number of his novels had already appeared in translation in other countries – Germany, Italy, Spain, Austria, and Russia. Perhaps the best indication, however, of Zola's fame is his letter to the Dutch critic, Jacques Van Santen Kolff, who had written to Zola in December 1883, complaining that two of his previous letters had not reached the novelist. "I'm very surprised", answered Zola, "that your two other letters didn't reach

me. You only need write on the envelope 'Émile Zola, France', and it will get to me." [1]

In 1884, Zola was at the mid-point in his composition of the family chronicle, *Les Rougon-Macquart*, which was to make him famous – and infamous – on both sides of the Channel. Subtitled *Histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le Second Empire*, the series presented the adventures of a family from the *coup d'État* of 1851, which brought Napoléon III to power, to the final days and ultimate downfall of the Empire on the battlefield of Sedan in 1870. The twenty novels in the series were to lay bare all levels of this society, from the glittering, extravagant world of the Imperial court to the depths of the coal mines of northern France, where striking workers lived on the verge of starvation.

This world, in which Zola had grown up, was a world in transition: scientific advances and new technologies were appearing at a startling rate, creating an ever-widening gap between the old and the new. Haussmann's Paris, where the medieval city was being demolished in order to create wide new thoroughfares and huge, modern buildings, stood for Zola as a symbol of this social upheaval, where adventurers made and lost fortunes and where those who turned their backs on progress did so at their peril.

The Empire, however, was, in Zola's eyes, rotten and hollow at its core, doomed from the outset: in the second-to-last novel of the series, *La Débâcle* [*The Downfall*], which appeared in 1892, Zola's depiction of the victory of the Prussian army over the French and of the horrors of the Paris Commune left little doubt as to his view of Second Empire society.

However, even before the first volume of the series appeared in 1871, Zola had burst onto the public view with his closely-structured and revolutionary literary doctrine – naturalism. Like the realists before him – Balzac, Flaubert, Stendhal and Goncourt – Zola intended to recreate reality, not only in its pleasant and agreeable form, but also in its gritty and sometimes sordid expressions. In order to do this, Zola borrowed and popularized many of the scientific notions which were in vogue in his day, most importantly the idea that human behaviour might be the result of environmental and hereditary factors.

Basing his premises on the physiologist Claude Bernard's

Introduction à la médecine expérimentale, which had been hailed as an important scientific breakthrough when it appeared in 1865, Zola went further, and hypothesized that, since life is predestined, the writer could, and should, observe humankind with the dispassionate eye of the experimental scientist. Zola used these tools to lay bare the social evils which he saw around him: no area or topic remained sacrosanct, as he attacked the Church, the army, politicians, financiers, and the French *nouveaux riches*. As early as 1869, in the preliminary notes which pre-date by two years the first volume of the *Rougon-Macquart* series, Zola wrote:

> I wish to paint, at the beginning of a century of truth and liberty, a family in search of immediate gratification, which is defeated by its own impulsiveness ... and by the inevitable convulsions of a world being born .... The study will simply analyze the world as it is. I will state facts. It will be a study of man placed in an environment, with no sermonizing. If my work must have a purpose, it shall be to tell *human truth*, to dismantle the human machine, and, by using heredity, to reveal its concealed springs.[2]

Further, Zola was an innovator not only in his theoretical perspectives, but equally in terms of his literary style: with *L'Assommoir* in 1877, Zola was the first writer to use the language of the people to weave the fabric of the novel itself, instead of using popular expressions here and there in his text, for purposes of "local colour".

Very early in his literary career, Zola realized that his radical new philosophy would make him a favourite target of attack by the conservative critical community. He was, however, willing, even eager, to take this risk. In an 1869 note, Zola had written: "A drama must grab the public by the throat. They get angry, but they don't forget. If not nightmares, I must always give them something outrageous, something they'll remember."[3] Long before the coining of the term "public relations", Zola well knew the advantages and pitfalls of challenging entrenched critical opinion.

Zola had tried, on numerous occasions, to explain that his novels were written not to titillate, but to educate; not to condemn the working classes, but to shed light upon their misery and their disenfranchisement. In an open letter to Yves Guyot, the director of *Le Bien public*,[4] which had published the first chapters of

L'Assommoir, Zola wrote:

> I maintain that I've accomplished something useful by analyzing a certain sector of the working class in *L'Assommoir*. I did what I had to do; I uncovered wounds, I highlighted suffering and vice, which can be cured. Idealistic politicians are like a doctor who would mask the agonies of a dying patient with flowers. I have preferred to lay the agony bare. This is how we live and die. I'm only an observer: I refuse to draw conclusions. But I leave to the moralists and the legislators the job of reflecting and of finding solutions. (February 10, 1877)[5]

Inevitably, however, the French critical community confused Zola's theory with his fiction, and condemned him, almost unanimously, as a pornographer, a purveyor of "putrid literature". Caricaturists delighted in showing him dipping his pen in a steaming chamber-pot or wearing the garb of a garbage-picker, impaling his tiny characters on the tip of a sharp stick.

Although he had scandalized a good part of the critical community, Zola's novels were enormously popular with the public, and quickly became best-sellers. Published first in serialized form in the Paris newspapers, the volumes of the *Rougon-Macquart* series, which appeared at eighteen-month intervals, were eagerly awaited by the reading public, who literally snatched the distinctive bright-yellow paper-covered books off the booksellers' shelves, making Zola one of the best-selling authors of his day. At a time when an average print run was between 1,500 and 3,000 copies, Zola's novels were being printed and reprinted in the tens of thousands. *Nana*, for example, the story of the Second Empire's most notorious courtesan, ran through eighty-two printings, representing 149,000 copies, in 1880, the year of its publication.

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It was the Anglo-Irish novelist George Moore who provided the link between Henry Vizetelly and Zola. In his *Confessions of a Young Man*,[6] Moore explained that it was his reading of the serialized version of *L'Assommoir* in 1879 which converted him to the philosophy of Naturalism, and made of him a disciple of Zola, at least until the mid-1880s. In 1879, Moore had been introduced to

Zola by Edouard Manet, at the "bal de *L'Assommoir*", an enormous party organized to launch the publication of the novel, to which all the guests were asked to come dressed as one of the characters. In 1881, Moore wrote to Zola, reminding him of this meeting and informing him that a "major London publisher" had asked him to produce a literal translation of *L'Assommoir*.[7] And although permission to translate was never granted, Zola did invite Moore to visit him, at his country home in Médan, outside Paris, in the company of Paul Alexis, Zola's most faithful French disciple. It is notable that, during the visit, Moore explained at length the strong influence which the circulating libraries wielded at the time in England, for it was Moore's quarrel with Mudie's Circulating Library which would lead to his own association with Vizetelly & Co.

In 1883, Moore had published his first novel, *A Modern Lover*, with Tinsley Brothers, on the understanding that Moore would pay Tinsley £40 if the novel were to prove unsuccessful. In *A Communication to my Friends* (1933), Moore explained that Tinsley hesitated before accepting the novel, since he felt that the title would displease the circulating libraries, whose approbation had become essential for the success of any popular novel.

Charles Mudie had launched his "Select Library" in 1842 and, ten years later, his lending-library system had revolutionized the reading habits of the English public. The key to the success of Mudie's system was the "three-decker novel", that is, a novel published in three volumes. The advantage for the circulating library was, of course, that a three-volume novel, retailing at 31s. 6d., was far too expensive for the average working-class or even middle-class reader to purchase outright. For a modest subscription fee, however, the reader could borrow "three-deckers" to his or her heart's content.

As circulating libraries proliferated in England, holding, by 1890, some 7.5 million volumes, so did Mudie's influence prosper with publishers and authors. With a growing number of libraries to be supplied, Mudie bought books in large quantities, often negotiating for an entire edition. He acquired, for example, 3,250 copies of Livingston's *Missionary Travels in South Africa*, and 2,500 copies of Macaulay's *History of England*. In fact, it hardly seems an exaggeration

to state that between about 1850 and 1890, the circulating libraries had a stranglehold on the sales and distribution of novels in England. Further, Mudie and W.H. Smith, his main competitor, kept a keen eye on the content of the works which passed through their doors. Nothing which could not safely be left on the parlour table was acceptable, making the circulating library system an effective tool for literary censorship. Mudie, in fact, claimed that in rejecting works which might offend late-Victorian moral codes, he was simply responding to his readers' desire "to have a barrier of some kind between themselves and the lower floods of literature".[8]

It was Moore's friend, Byron Webber, who advised him to take his novel to Vizetelly if Tinsley would not publish it: "Tell him you have come from France, where you lived ten or a dozen years. That will interest him. He will look upon you first perhaps as a translator – he is like a hawk, with fixed inquisitive eyes. As thin as a rake you will find him, too small for his clothes."[9] Moore did meet with Vizetelly, and spoke with him about his next novel, *A Mummer's Wife*. Negotiations went no further, since Tinsley decided to accept *A Modern Lover*. However, Tinsley's hesitations were well-founded: the circulating libraries disapproved of the novel and were disinclined to stock it, buying only fifty copies and keeping them "under the counter", that is to say, lending the novel out only when a reader made a specific demand for it. The novel was a failure. Moore was enraged. Fortunately, he was able to break his engagement with Tinsley shortly thereafter, when a warehouse fire destroyed almost the entire Tinsley edition of *A Modern Lover*, enabling Henry Vizetelly to buy out the copyright.

It was at this time, then, that Moore began to act as an intermediary between Zola and Vizetelly. Gradually, a literary friendship developed between the French novelist and Moore, whom certain critics had dubbed "the English Zola". When Moore wrote to Zola, at the beginning of January 1885, to tell him of the success of his second novel, *A Mummer's Wife*, published by Vizetelly & Co., Zola answered:

> I'm delighted to hear of your great success. ... You've become the champion of truth in England. This is a great role, and one you'll fill valiantly. I'm also delighted to learn about your speedy victory over the circulating libraries, for I'm convinced that the circulating

> libraries are largely responsible for the state of insipid stupidity into which the English novel has fallen. Now that authors are free to address the public, without having to take family values into account, you'll see that their works will become works of incisive analysis. And it's to you that England will owe the virile novel of the future.[10]

For over a decade, then, Moore and Zola were both to publish their novels with Vizetelly & Co., in the one-volume format which had become the firm's trademark and which many book historians believe hastened the demise of the three-decker novel and, ultimately, of the circulating libraries.

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When Vizetelly & Co. published their first Zola translation in London in 1884, Zola was by no means an unknown author to English audiences. Traditionally, books in their original languages had long moved freely between England and the Continent, with the result that no proscriptions whatsoever were imposed on the buying of a Zola novel in its French original. Late-Victorian moral standards apparently deemed that, in spite of Zola's dreadful reputation, those who were sufficiently cultured to read Zola in French were less likely to suffer moral damage than were the less well-educated, who could read only a translation. Nonetheless, translations of Zola's novels had been circulating since the beginning of the 1880s, most of them in unauthorized American translations, like those of Belford, Clark & Co., which were shipped from the United States to England and which then enjoyed brisk sales from under the counters in London's infamous Holywell Street. Vizetelly, who had been living in France when bombshells like *Nana* and *L'Assommoir* hit the market, could not have been unaware that he was running something of a risk in publishing his translations of Zola's novels. But whatever his other motives, Vizetelly had long had a finger on the pulse of the English reading public, and he knew that Zola's novels would sell, and sell they did.

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The first translation issued by Vizetelly & Co., a single volume selling at six shillings, bore on its cover *Nana: A Realistic Novel,* and

was announced in *The Bookseller* of 5 April 1884. In his story of the spectacular rise and fall of Nana, a Paris courtesan, Zola set out to demystify the world of the courtesan, using Nana's body as the symbol of all that was corrupt, yet infinitely tempting, in the depraved society of the Second Empire. The novel, which had been published by Charpentier in Paris on 14 February 1880, was advertised in *Vizetelly & Co.'s Recent Publications* for April 1884, and was described as being "translated without abridgement from the 127th French edition". And although the novel is advertised as being translated "without abridgement", it must be said that *Nana*, like the rest of the *Rougon-Macquart* series published by Vizetelly, had undergone a process of "toning-down", particularly in passages of a more or less explicitly sexual nature.[11]

The volume was illustrated with sixteen tinted full-page engravings, with plates which had been bought by Vizetelly from Flammarion, the Paris publisher who produced the very handsome illustrated editions of Zola's novels, and who had obtained the collaboration of many of France's leading artists, including Renoir, Clairin, Bellenger, and Gill. The catalogue described the crown octavo volume as "handsomely bound".

Interestingly, Vizetelly chose for the publicity text for his catalogue an extract from a critique of the novel by Henry James, which had first appeared in the *Parisian* in February 1880, and which Vizetelly reproduced, along with a brief biography of Zola, in the prefatory material to the translation of *Nana*.[12] A few weeks later, a five-shilling edition, without illustrations, in a plain cloth binding, was announced. Once again, Vizetelly followed this practice, with one exception, for all eighteen of the Zola translations in his catalogues (Figure 1).[13]

According to William Colburn,[14] the presentation of the six-shilling edition is invariable: all the pre-1888 issues bear an illustration on the front cover. The last four volumes, those issued in 1888, have no front cover illustration, but are consistent in all other aspects to the earlier works. The first six volumes are bound in brown cloth, lettered in gold and trimmed with a red ornamental frame. The later volumes are identical, but are bound in green rather than brown. For the five-shilling edition, Colburn indicates that a slip was inserted before the title pages (which indicated that

AN INCIDENT AT NANA'S SUPPER PARTY.

GRAVAINE AT THE WASH-HOUSE.

brush, she extracted from the foam a dirty leather, which fell in long drops. Then, in the slight noise caused by the brush, the two women drew together, and continued in a more intimate way.

"No, we're not married," resumed Gervaise. "I don't take it. Lantier isn't so nice for my one to care to be his wife. Ah! if it wasn't for the children. I was fourteen and he eighteen when old Mother Coupeau made us marry. Ah! I'd happened on it always then, you know. I wasn't happy at home. Old Macquart, for a jug or a tog, would give me no end of kicks indeed; so I preferred to keep away from him. We might have been married, but—I forget why—our parents wouldn't consent."

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the volume was illustrated), reading "Vizetelly's original 5s Non-Illustrated Edition". Because the six-shilling and five-shilling editions were produced from the same stereo plates, they are otherwise identical. All the five-shilling editions were bound in blue cloth with red and gold lettering and decoration, but have no cover illustrations.[15]

The *Publishers' Circular* for April 1885 and the Vizetelly & Co. catalogue for May 1885 list a royal octavo edition of *Nana*, "profusely illustrated" and "handsomely bound and gilt … illustrated with upwards of 100 Engravings, nearly half of which are full-page", to be sold at 7s. 6d. The text continues, stating that this volume is "to be followed by illustrated editions of the *Assommoir*, *Piping Hot!*, and the rest of M. Zola's more popular works". In fact, only the three titles mentioned appeared in this very luxurious format.

It was in the autumn of 1887 that a "new and cheaper edition" of the translations was announced in the firm's catalogue. Selling at 3s. 6d., this edition was identical to the 6s. edition, ("translated without abridgement. Illustrated with all the original engravings"). The bindings too were identical, except that the word "Illustrated" does not appear on the spine of the 3s. 6d. edition. The title page bears the indication "New Edition". This new edition appeared very rapidly, at a time which was undoubtedly the most active period for

the firm in terms of their production of Zola translations.[16] By September 1888, all the works which had appeared in six-shilling form were also available in the three-and-six edition.

Lastly, the *Bookseller* and the *Publishers' Catalogue* signaled the existence of a two-and-six yellowback edition of the translations of Zola's novels, known as the "new edition", or "cheap edition" or "new and cheaper edition". These began to appear late in 1887 and continued to appear throughout 1888. Colburn points out that the volumes themselves are undated and not illustrated – sold as "in Picture Boards, without the Illustrations" (Vizetelly & Co. catalogue, September 1887) – although they are printed from the plates of the six-shilling edition.[17]

The *Publishers' Catalogue* for July 1884 carried the announcement of the next Zola novel to appear in translation: *The "Assommoir": (The Prelude to Nana): A Realistic Novel.* Published in Paris by Charpentier on 24 January 1877, it is first mentioned in Vizetelly & Co.'s catalogue of April 1884, where it too is described as "translated without abridgement", this time from the 97th French edition. Once again, the Flammarion plates are used for the six-shilling edition, and mention is made of the artists (Bellenger, Clairin, André Gill, Leloir, Rosé and Vierge). The novel tells the story of Nana's mother, Gervaise, a laundress, through whose slide into alcoholism and death Zola presents a dark picture of the ravages of drink on the working classes. It is introduced by a translation of Edmondo de Amicis' "Notes upon the 'Assommoir'", which had also prefaced the French version of the text. It is an extract from this text which Vizetelly chose to launch the translation in his catalogue. Interestingly, his emphasis is – as was Zola's – on the essentially moral nature of the text:

> After reading Zola's novel, it seems as if in all others, even in the truest, there were a veil between the reader and the things described, and there is present to our minds the same difference as exists between the representations of human faces on canvas and the reflection of the same faces in a mirror. It is like finding truth for the first time.
>
> Zola is one of the most moral novelists in France, and it is really astonishing how anyone can doubt this. He makes us note the

VALÉRIE IN HYSTERICS AT THE WEDDING BALL.

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OCTAVE AND VALÉRIE.

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> smell of vice, not its perfume: his nude figures are those of the anatomical table, which do not inspire the slightest immoral thought; there is not one of his books, not even the crudest, that does not leave behind its pure, firm, and unmistakeable aversion, or scorn, for the base passions of which he treats. Brutally, pitilessly, and without hypocrisy he strips vice naked and holds it up to ridicule. Forced by his hand it is vice itself that says, 'Detest me and pass by!' His novels, as he himself says, are really 'morals in action'. (*Vizetelly & Co.'s Recent Publications*, September 1884).

Once again, the six shilling edition was quickly followed by an unillustrated five shilling edition, the very beautiful illustrated royal octavo edition, and the 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d. editions.[18]

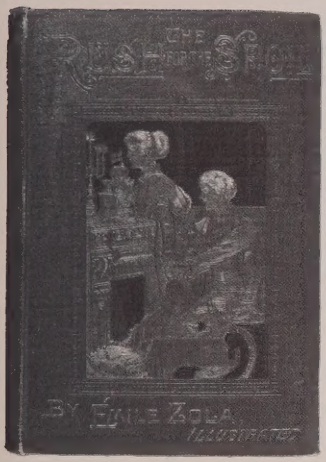
In the September 1884 catalogue, one also finds the first mention of the third of the Vizetelly translations: "Uniform with NANA and THE 'ASSOMMOIR.' In Crown 8vo, price 6s. *Piping Hot! (Pot-Bouille)* by Emile Zola. Unabridged. Translation from the 63rd French edition. Illustrated with Sixteen Tinted Page Engravings by French Artists". It is at this point that the series title appears which hereafter accompanies all announcements of the novelist's works: "Zola's Powerful Realistic Novels". The six shilling edition of *Piping Hot!* appeared in January 1885, with a preface written by George Moore.[19] While hailing Zola as "the Homer of modern

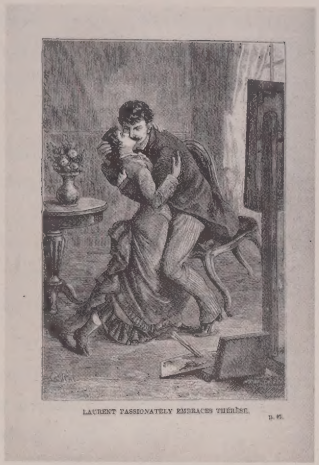
life", for his depiction of the sordid lives of a group of people living in a Paris apartment building, Moore also used the preface as a vehicle to denounce yet again the system of virtual censorship imposed by the circulating libraries in England.[20]

Nana, L'Assommoir and *Pot-Bouille* are, respectively, the ninth, seventh and tenth novels in the *Rougon-Macquart* series. One is tempted, when looking at the *Rougon-Macquart* series as published by Vizetelly, to ponder the order in which the firm presented the novels. A number of explanations are possible, and it must be said that although *Les Rougon-Macquart* is a family chronicle and thus, in a sense, a continuing story, each of the twenty novels is also entirely comprensible in itself. It seems clear that, in beginning with *Nana, The 'Assommoir',* and *Piping Hot!,* Vizetelly was launching his Zola series with those novels which had been, and which continued to be, best-sellers in France. A glance at production figures for these three novels indicates clearly that, with *L'Assommoir* in 1877, Zola had become an important money-maker for his French publisher. Yet even by the turn of the century, the first five of the *Rougon-Macquart* series continued to lag behind markedly in terms of production and sales figures (Figure 2).[21]

Zola's *Germinal*, the story of the lives of striking coal workers, which Zola himself had described as "the struggle of capital and labour", had appeared to enormous acclaim – and criticism – in Paris on 2 March 1885. Advertised as "in preparation" in the April 1885 catalogue (along with *The Rush for the Spoil* and *Thérèse Raquin*), *Germinal, or Master and Man: A Realistic Novel* appeared two months later. Vizetelly's *Germinal* departs from the company's general practice, in that the unillustrated five shilling edition in fact preceded the illustrated six shilling edition.[22] According to William Colburn, the original five shilling edition does have an illustrated cover, showing Maheu, one of the striking mine workers, baring his chest to the government troops guarding the mine.[23]

The Rush for the Spoil (La Curée): A Realistic Novel, which had been advertised along with *Germinal* and *Thérèse Raquin*, appeared on London booksellers' shelves in December 1885. With this story of incest and financial speculation in the *salons* of the Second Empire, Vizetelly returned to the beginnings of the *Rougon-Macquart* chronicle (*La Curée*, published in Paris by the Librairie Internationale de Lacroix et Verboeckhoven on 30 January 1872, is




LAURENT PASSIONATELY EMBRACES THÉRÈSE.

the second novel in the series). Like *Piping Hot!*, *The Rush for the Spoil* is introduced by a preface by George Moore. Instead, however, of lamenting over the state of the publishing industry in England, Moore concentrates here on an analysis of the novel, explaining his notion that the entire work is an allegory of Second Empire Paris:

> The book is Paris … – a Paris of adventurers, of courtezans – a Paris of debts – a Paris of women's shoulders, cotillons, champagne, of violins and pianos – a Paris of opera hats – a Paris of gold pieces, of fraud, of liars, of speculation, of supper tables – a Paris sonorous and empty as a wheel of fortune – a Paris of sweetmeats, rendezvous, bank-notes – a Paris of tresses of false hair forgotten in hackney carriages. (Preface, p. iv)

The last novel announced in the April 1885 catalogue is *Thérèse Raquin: A Realistic Novel*, which, along with *The Rush for the Spoil*, appeared in December 1885 (bearing the imprint 1886). *Thérese Raquin* is a very early novel (Paris, Lacroix, 1867), which pre-dates the *Rougon-Macquart* series, and which had given rise to enormous controversy. A dramatic demonstration of Zola's naturalist theories, the novel tells the story of a woman who conspires with her lover to murder her husband. In *Le Figaro* (23 January 1868), the

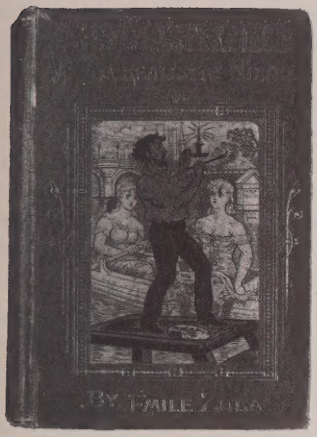
prominent reviewer, Louis Ulbach, gave voice to the violent reaction of the conservative critical community. Alluding both to Zola's new work and to the Goncourt brothers' *Germinie Lacerteux*, Ulbach wrote:

> For some years now, we have been subjected to a monstrous school of novelists, which claims to substitute the eloquence of the charnel heap for the eloquence of the flesh, which highlights surgical curiosities, which gathers together plague sufferers so that we can admire their marbled flesh, which takes its inspiration directly from its master, cholera, and which squeezes out the pus of consciousness.

Vizetelly's translation of *Thérèse Raquin*, interestingly, includes the preface which Zola wrote for the second edition of the novel, in which he mounts a spirited defense against Ulbach and against those who had decried him as a vulgar pornographer. Underlining yet again the scientific aspect of his literary theory, he compares himself to "those painters who copy the nude, without the least desire being kindled within them, and who are profoundly surprised when a critic declares himself scandalised by the life-like flesh of their work" (p. vii).

If success can be measured by how much space an author is accorded in his publisher's catalogue, then Zola's was considerable, for the list of his newest works take up approximately one-quarter of the "Recent Publications" rubric of the November 1885 catalogue. At the same time, his "Powerful Realistic Novels" figure prominently, with a reproduction of one of the illustrations from *Nana*, in Vizetelly's "List of Books" in the second half of the catalogue for the same date. It is in this catalogue that the eleventh novel in the *Rougon-Macquart* series, *Au Bonheur des Dames* (Paris, Charpentier, 1883), makes its first appearance, under the title *The Ladies' Paradise*, the translation being based on the fiftieth French edition. As usual, the volume is offered in the six-shilling edition, "illustrated with Tinted Page Engravings", or without engravings, at five shillings.[24]

Perhaps the impatience of the English reading public to set hands on Zola's new works is indicated by the fact that, in his April 1886 "New Books & New Editions" catalogue, Vizetelly added a



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parenthesis after each Zola title already published or soon to appear. Thus, *The Ladies' Paradise*, billed as "a sequel to *Piping Hot!*", was announced as "ready", whereas *His Masterpiece?*, Zola's rendering of the battles of the young Impressionist school, and the novel which was to set him at odds for the rest of his life with his boyhood friend, Paul Cézanne, was listed as to be published "shortly". In fact, the English publication (June 1886) followed the original Paris publication by only a matter of weeks (Charpentier, 31 March 1886).

With eight Zola titles already on its shelves, the firm was accelerating its publication rhythm. The autumn of 1886 saw a sharp upswing in the number of Zola translations published by Vizetelly, with five new titles appearing between October 1886 and January 1887. A glance at the Zola entries in the April 1886 catalogue leaves no doubt as to this proliferation: *Abbé Mouret's Transgression* [*La Faute de l'abbé Mouret*] is announced for "early in May", *The Fortune of the Rougons* [*La Fortune des Rougon*] for "early in June", *How Jolly Life Is!* [*La Joie de vivre*] for "during June", and *A Love Idyll* [*Une Page d'amour,* finally published under the title *A Love Episode*] for "the end of June". Although Vizetelly's announced dates are somewhat optimistic (May-June rather than October-December 1886, as was in fact the case), and are modified in the September 1886

catalogue ("the following Volumes will be published during the Autumn"), the rapidity with which volume followed volume is striking.

The first of the series, *Abbé Mouret's Transgression*, which told the story of a priest's falling in love, was the fifth novel in the *Rougon-Macquart* series, and had appeared in Paris eleven years earlier (Charpentier, 27 March 1875). Its appearance in October 1886 was followed a month later by *The Fortune of the Rougons: A Realistic Novel*, which had been the first of the *Rougon-Macquart* series to appear (Librairie Internationale de Lacroix et Verboeckhoven, 14 October 1871). As such, *The Fortune of the Rougons* launched the series, with a description of Napoléon III's *coup d'État* in December 1851 and of its consequences for Plassans, an imaginary town drawn from Zola's memories of Aix-en-Provence. Zola's preface to the original edition is also translated, for it was undoubtedly thought crucial to the reader's understanding of Zola's literary doctrine:

> I want to show how a family, a small group of persons, comports itself amidst the surroundings in which it is placed, expanding and giving birth to ten, twenty individuals who appear at first sight extremely dissimilar, but who, on examination, will be found to be intimately connected with each other. Heredity, the same as gravity, is governed by certain laws.
>
> By resolving the double question of temperament and surroundings, I shall endeavour to discover and follow out the thread which conducts mathematically from one individual to another. And when I have gathered up all the threads, when I have the whole social group in my hands, I shall exhibit the several members of it at work as actors in an epoch of history; I shall portray them in all the complex diversities of their efforts; and, at the same time, I shall analyse the sum of each individual's volition, and the general tendency of the whole. (p. v)

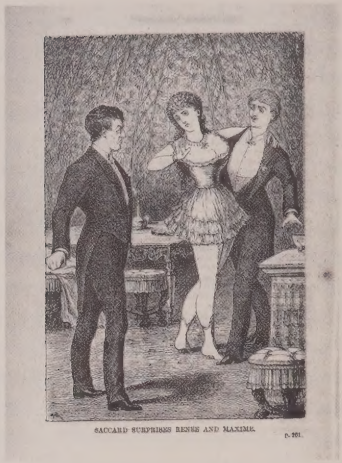
How Jolly Life Is! A Realistic Novel also appeared in November 1886, in the usual Vizetelly format. This time, however, Vizetelly chose the twelfth of the *Rougon-Macquart* series (Charpentier, 15 February 1884), in which Zola depicts Lazare Chanteau, an intelligent but neurotic individual, who loses his intellectual way in a fog

of Schopenhauerian thought. *A Love Episode: A Realistic Novel*, followed in December 1886 (with an 1887 imprint), and, once again, Vizetelly cast back to an earlier Zola novel, in this case the eighth of the series, which had first appeared in Paris on 20 April 1878. The last in this series of translations, *The Conquest of Plassans; or, The Priest in the House. A Realistic Novel*, was published in an illustrated six-shilling edition in January 1887. This story of religion and political intrigue, set once again in the small provincial town of Plassans, had first appeared on 27 May 1874 (Paris, Charpentier).

It is interesting to note that, in all of his pre-September 1887 catalogues, Vizetelly had maintained his Henry James text as the introduction to his advertisement for his "Zola's Powerful Realistic Novels" series. However, in the September 1887 catalogue, this was to change: for once, the "New Books & New Editions" page was headed by a letter from Émile Zola himself to Vizetelly & Co., the subject of which was his forthcoming novel, *The Soil* [*La Terre*], "to be ready during the Autumn". (The Henry James quotation was reserved in this instance for the section devoted to "New and Cheaper Edition of Zola's Powerful Realistic Novels" (*i.e.*, editions at 3s. 6d.), a number of pages farther into the catalogue.)[25] In the advertisement for *The Soil*, Vizetelly quotes at length from Zola's letter (which, in fact, had been solicited from Zola as a publicity text by Henry Vizetelly's son, Ernest Alfred Vizetelly, in a letter dated 21 February 1887):[26]

> *The Soil* is the story of the French peasant, his love of land, his struggle to acquire it, his crushing toil, his brief delights, and his great misery. ... To be brief, adds M. Zola, I have endeavoured to deal with the French peasant in this book, just as I dealt with the Paris workman in the *Assommoir*. I have endeavoured to write his history, to describe his manners, passions and sorrows, in the fatal situation and circumstances in which he finds himself.

In September 1887, the firm published *His Excellency Eugene Rougon: A Realistic Novel*, once again returning to the novels dating from before the period of *L'Assommoir*. A study of political life under the Second Empire, the novel had appeared in Paris on 25 February 1876. A few weeks later, Vizetelly brought out his only collection of Zola's short stories, *A Soldier's Honour and Other*



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Stories (imprint 1888), a collection of ten of Zola's most popular *contes.* January 1888 saw the publication of another of Zola's very early, pre-*Rougon-Macquart* novels, *Madeleine Férat: A Realistic Novel.* Written in 1868, only a year after *Thérèse Raquin*, the young Zola attempted, through the story of his protagonist's relationships with two men, to give a literary interpretation to a theory on heredity which he had discovered in a study by Doctor Prosper Lucas, a prominent nineteenth-century scientist, *Traité de l'hérédité naturelle.*

The Soil appeared in February 1888. In March 1888, *Fat and Thin*, the second of the *Rougon-Macquart* series and the last of the Vizetelly translations of Zola's novels, appeared on the bookstalls, introducing English readers to the world of Les Halles, the Paris markets, and to Florent, the hapless political dissident who lived there.

If the Vizetelly & Co. catalogues, from 1884 to 1888, tell the story of a firm which had found a rich and steady market in its Zola translations, the last of the firm's catalogues, issued in January 1889, paints a very different picture. When Zola wrote to Henry Vizetelly in early 1887, describing the "fatal situation and circumstances" of the French peasant, he could not have anticipated the fatal situation and circumstances which the publication of his novel

would bring about for the firm. On 31 October 1888, Henry Vizetelly was tried and found guilty of purveying obscene publications. Thus, the January 1889 catalogue lists *Nana, Piping Hot!*, and *The Soil* as "undergoing revisions". The story of these revisions and their consequences represents the last chapter in the history of the Vizetelly & Co. publishing firm.[27]

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Despite the fact that, according to Henry Vizetelly's son, Ernest, the firm's Zola translations sold extremely well – on the order of 1,000 volumes per week – the British critical community was virtually united in its distaste for Zola's works, whether in French or in English. It would be impossible, of course, to summarize within the scope of this essay the dozens of articles in English periodicals and newspapers devoted to Zola's works from 1884 to 1889. An examination of a database of critical reviews of works published by Vizetelly & Co. in thirty-one French and English journals and periodicals reveals, for the 1884-1889 period, 229 articles dealing with Vizetelly's Zola translations.[28] At least one article, however, in this large collection may be viewed as typical, insofar as it presents a number of the most common critiques levelled against Zola's works. In January 1888, George Saintsbury, a prominent literary critic and reviewer for *The Fortnightly Review*, published an overview of the French novel in an article entitled "The Present State of the Novel" (1 January 1888).

The commonest criticism levelled against Zola by the English press was, of course, that of being a pornographer. Baptizing Zola "the naturalist Zeus", Saintsbury is unequivocal on this point: "The popularity of M. Zola does not indeed surprise me, for there has always been a very considerable demand for obscene books; and when customers can get them without let or hindrance, at a moderate price, and with no loss of reputation if they are seen carrying them away, it is not to be supposed that the demand will be greatly lessened, at any rate for a time." Like most of the critical fraternity, however, he does grant, albeit grudgingly, that Zola has a certain value as a moralist, that he is "not a caterer for Holywell Street, pure and simple".

Morality aside, however, Saintsbury charges Zola with a radical

error: carried away by his enthusiastic admiration for the scientific method, he has vainly attempted to change the essential character of the novel. He accuses Zola of misconstruing, even perverting, the purpose of art (at least as Saintsbury sees it), and, in his enthusiasm for the scientific method, of confusing the functions of science and art: "His wearisome nonsense of 'documents', his working-in ... of a kind of small encyclopaedia of elaborate nastiness into each book, his photographs of the ugly and disgusting, his actual obscenity iself, are all (and all, I repeat, no doubt unconsciously) attempts to get at the secret of the interesting".

Other critics, of course, were even fiercer on this point, like the anonymous reviewer in *The Spectator* of 7 December 1889:

> [F]rom the worship of certain forces of Nature, Zola has passed to the contemplation of those forces in their most terrible and bestial aspect. The very horror that has come upon him from this contemplation seems to have compelled him to dwell on and communicate it; it has acted on and possessed his imagination like a nightmare he can no longer flee from. A world festering with vice and corruption, human beings monsters of depravity, human laws instruments of inconceivable iniquity – this state of things has gradually ended by becoming truth to Zola. Therefore, certain of his later works can only be regarded as manifestations of a completely diseased view of life to which he has become a victim.

Distortion, breaking the rules of art, have their penalties: "M. Zola's process is the negation of the first rule of literature," continues Saintsbury, "which is that what is presented shall be presented not merely as it is, but transformed, and, if I may say so, '*dis*realised'." Having broken the cardinal rule, Zola's punishment will be oblivion: "For pass away he must, having neither of the two and the only two lasting qualities of literature. One of them is style, the other is the artistic presentation of matter. The first he probably could not have attained, except in a few passages, if he would; the second he has deliberately rejected".

Negative critical opinion, however, seemed to have little impact on Vizetelly & Co.'s sales of Zola's novels. Indeed, when the firm is remembered today, it is often chiefly as the publisher of

Zola's works in England, in spite of the hundreds of other titles which Henry Vizetelly offered to his reading public. A sad irony indeed, then, that it was the publication of a Zola novel which was to bring about the demise of Vizetelly & Co.

NOTES

1 Émile Zola, *Correspondance*. General Editor B.H. Bakker. 10 volumes. (Montréal/Paris, Presses de l'Université de Montréal/CNRS), IV:448. All translations, from the *Correspondance* and from other French texts, are our own.

2 "Notes générales sur la marche de l'oeuvre" ["General notes on the directions of the work"], in Émile Zola, *Les Rougon-Macquart. Histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le second Empire.* Vol. V. (Paris: Éditions de la Pléiade, 1960), 1739-1740.

3 "Notes générales sur la nature de l'oeuvre" ["General notes on the nature of the work"], 1744.

4 *Le Bien public*, a Paris daily, appeared, in its first incarnation, from March 1871 to June 1878. Staunchly republican and anti-clerical in its editorial policy, the paper ceased publication after sponsoring celebrations in 1878 on the occasion of the centenary of Voltaire's death, in defiance of the orders of the French Ministry of the Interior.

5 Émile Zola, *Correspondance,* II:536-537.

6 George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey, & Co., 1888).

7 Although *American Book Prices Current* for 1924 signals the existence of a ten-page manuscript translation of the novel by Moore, the Vizetelly & Co. translation was published anonymously, and was not, in fact, done by Moore.

8 Graham King, *Garden of Zola* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1978), 231.

9 George Moore, *A Communication to my Friends* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1933), 23-24.

10 Émile Zola, *Correspondance,* V:225-226.

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Publication dates, Paris and London

Title	Date of Paris publication
Thérèse Raquin	Lacroix, 1867
Madeleine Férat	Lacroix, 1868
La Fortune des Rougon	Lacroix, 1871
La Curée	Lacroix, 1872
Le Ventre de Paris	Charpentier, 1873
La Conquête de Plassans	Charpentier, 1874
La Faute de l'abbé Mouret	Charpentier, 1875
Son Excellence Eugène Rougon	Charpentier, 1876
L'Assommoir	Charpentier, 1877
Une page d'amour	Charpentier, 1878
Nana	Charpentier, 1880
Pot-Bouille	Charpentier, 1882
Au Bonheur des dames	Charpentier, 1883
La Joie de vivre	Charpentier, 1884
Germinal	Charpentier, 1885
L'Oeuvre	Charpentier, 1886
La Terre	Charpentier, 1887

Title	Date of first Vizetelly publication
Nana	1884
The "Assommoir"	1884
Piping Hot! (*Pot-Bouille*)	1885
Germinal	1885
The Rush for the Spoil (*La Curée*)	1886
Thérèse Raquin	1886
The Ladies' Paradise (*Au Bonheur des dames*)	1886
His Masterpiece ? (*L'Oeuvre*)	1886
Abbé Mouret's Transgression	1886
How Jolly Life Is! (*La Joie de vivre*)	1886
The Fortune of the Rougons	1886
A Love Episode (*Une Page d'amour*)	1887
The Conquest of Plassans	1887
His Excellency Eugène Rougon	1887
A Soldier's Honour (short stories)	1888
Madeleine Férat	1888
The Soil (*La Terre*)	1888
Fat and Thin (*Le Ventre de Paris*)	1888

Charpentier printings of the *Rougon-Macquart* novels Published subsequently by Vizetelly & Co. 1884-1888

Title	1893	1902
La Fortune des Rougon (1871)	26,000	35,000
La Curée (1872)	36,000	47,000
Le Ventre de Paris (1873)	33,000	43,000
La Conquête de Plassans (1874)	25,000	33,000
La Faute de l'abbé Mouret (1875)	44,000	52,000
Son Excellence Eugène Rougon (1876)	26,000	32,000
L'Assommoir (1877)	127,000	142,000
Une Page d'amour (1878)	80,000	94,000
Nana (1880)	166,000	193,000
Pot-Bouille (1882)	82,000	92,000
Au Bonheur des dames (1883)	62,000	72,000
La Joie de vivre (1884)	48,000	54,000
Germinal (1885)	88,000	110,000
L'Oeuvre (1886)	55,000	60,000
La Terre (1887)	100,000	129,000

From: Alain Pagès and Owen Morgan, *Guide Émile Zola* (Paris, Ellipses, 2002), 228.

Vizetelly's Zola translations in England[29]

TITLE	DATE OF 6s. EDITION ILLUSTRATED	DATE OF 5s. EDITION NOT ILLUSTRATED
Nana	March 1884[30]	May 1884
The 'Assommoir'	July 1884	September 1884
Piping-Hot!	February 1885	
Germinal	May 1886	July 1885
The Rush for the Spoil	December 1885 [imprint 1886]	
Thérèse Raquin	December 1885	April 1886
The Ladies' Paradise	May 1886	October 1886
His Masterpiece ?	July 1886	
Abbé Mouret's Transgression	October 1886	
How Jolly Life Is !	December 1886	
The Fortune of the Rougons	December 1886	
A Love Episode	December 1886 [imprint 1887]	
The Conquest of Plassans	January 1887	
His Excellency Eugène Rougon	October 1887	
A Soldier's Honour	December 1887 [imprint 1888]	
Madeleine Férat	February 1888	
The Soil	February 1888	
Fat and Thin	March 1888	

DATE OF 3s. 6d. EDITION ILLUSTRATED	DATE OF 2s. 6d. EDN. NOT ILLUSTRATED	DATE OF 7s. 6d. EDN. "PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED"
June 1887	August 1887	April 1885
September 1887	August 1888	August 1885
July 1887	June 1888	June 1886
March 1888	July 1888	
	November 1887	
August 1887	August 1888	
July 1887	October 1888	
September 1887	September 1888	
September 1887	July 1888	
April 1888		
April 1888	September 1888	
April 1888 January 1889		
December 1888		
September 1887 January 1889		
March 1889		
April 1889		

11 Graham King examines this phenomenon in detail, suggesting that the version of *Nana* presented to the English reading public in 1884 had "the ambient qualities of a faded sepia photograph rather than those of a *Playboy* spread", 392.

12 "A novelist with a system, a passionate conviction, a great plan – incontestably attributes of M. Zola – is not now to be easily found in England or in the United States, where the story-teller's art is almost exclusively feminine, is mainly in the hands of timid (even when very accomplished) women, whose acquaintance with life is severely restricted, and who are not conspicuous for general views. The novel, moreover, among ourselves, is almost always addressed to young unmarried ladies, or at least always assumes them to be a large part of the novelist's public. This fact, to a French story-teller, appears, of course, a damnable restriction, and M. Zola would probably decline to take *au sérieux* any work produced under such unnatural conditions."

13 The 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d. editions are announced in the *Publishers' Circular* for June and August 1887, respectively. Publication dates for the various edition of Vizetelly's Zola translations are taken from *The Publishers' Circular* and/or *The Bookseller.*

14 William Colburn, *Zola in England, 1883-1903* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1952), 32-33. The wealth of information presented by Colburn in his thesis, which, sadly, remains unpublished, indicates that, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Vizetelly's Zola translations, in all their formats, must have been much more accessible than they are today. Currently, the British Library generally holds only one copy of each text. The National Library of Canada's copies have all been stripped of their original covers.

15 Colburn, 33.

16 Interestingly, there appeared, during this period of accelerated production, a few competing translations. Temple & Co. published *Nana*, "complete and unabridged", in June 1887 (2s.), *In the Swim* [*La Curée*] in September (1s.), and *L'Assommoir* in December (1s.). The autumn of 1887 also saw yet another translation of *La Curée*, *Rush for the Spoil*, by Willoughby, this version selling at 3s. 6d.

17 The yellowback edition of these translations is now extremely rare: although entries in the *Publishers' Catalogue* and the *Bookseller* indicate that at least ten of the novels appeared in this form, it is difficult to determine if this figure is accurate.

18 In *The Bookseller* for 4 September 1884 and the *Publishers' Circular* for August 1885, September 1887, and August 1888 respectively.

19 The original edition of *Pot-Bouille* was published in Paris by Charpentier on 12 April 1882.

20 Later in the same year, Moore elaborated on what he saw as the effects of "illiterate censorship", which had thrown English fiction into an "abyss of nonsense", in a 22-page pamphlet, *Literature at Nurse, or Circulating Morals*, which Vizetelly & Co. published and sold at threepence a copy (George Moore, *Literature at Nurse, or Circulating Morals*. London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885).

21 Figure 2 published in Alain Pagès and Owen Morgan, *Guide Émile Zola* (Paris: Ellipses, 2002), 228, clearly indicates the disparity in sales figures for the pre- and post-*Assommoir* novels in the series.

22 These editions are announced in *The Publishers' Circular* for July 1885 and April 1886, respectively. As usual, editions at 3s. 6d. (March 1888) and 2s. 6d. (July 1888) followed.

23 Colburn, 32.

24 *Au Bonheur des dames* was the first of Zola's novels to appear in English: in 1883, Tinsley Brothers brought out a 3-volume edition at 31s. 6d., translated by Frank Belmont.

25 It is interesting to note that this catalogue contains the announcement of the forthcoming publication of *Claude's Confession*, a publication which circumstances were to render impossible.

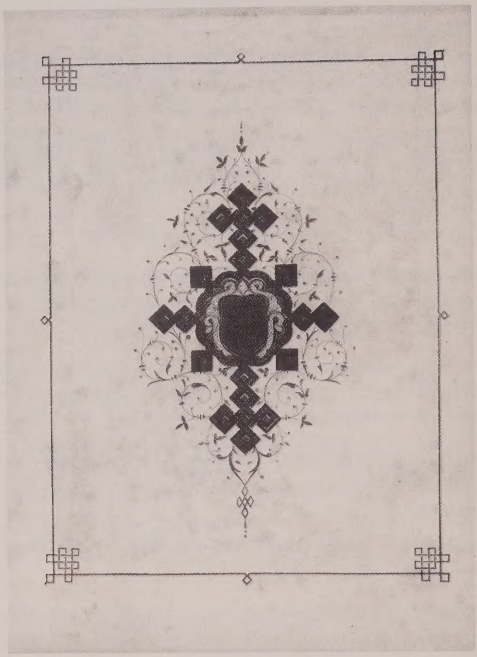
26 See Dorothy E. Speirs & Yannick Portebois, *'Mon Cher Maître': Lettres d'Ernest Vizetelly à Émile Zola 1891–1902* (Montréal, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2002), 48.

27 On the trial and condemnation of Henry Vizetelly, see Richard Landon's essay in the current volume.

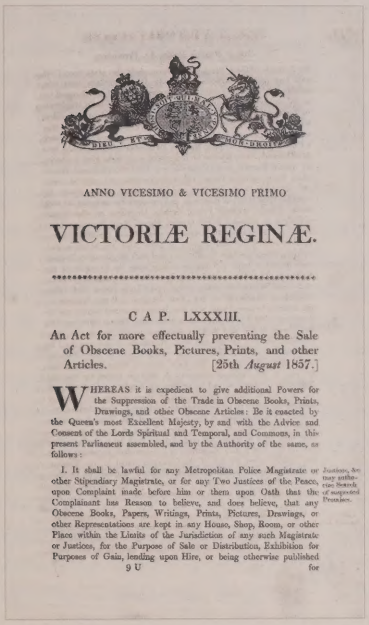
28 This database, which presently contains over 3,000 entries, is on-going and is being compiled by Ms. Mirela Cherciov and Ms. Amy Lloyd at the Centre for 19th Century French Studies at the University of Toronto.

29 William Colburn published certain of these statistics in an appendix to his thesis (205-210).

30 Dates indicated are the dates of announcement in the *Bookseller* and/or the *Publishers' Circular*.



A Man Under Fire: Henry Vizetelly and the Question of Obscenity in Victorian England



ANNO VICESIMO & VICESIMO PRIMO

VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

CAP. LXXXIII.

An Act for more effectually preventing the Sale of Obscene Books, Pictures, Prints, and other Articles. [25th *August* 1857.]

WHEREAS it is expedient to give additional Powers for the Suppression of the Trade in Obscene Books, Prints, Drawings, and other Obscene Articles: Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, as follows:

I. It shall be lawful for any Metropolitan Police Magistrate or other Stipendiary Magistrate, or for any Two Justices of the Peace, upon Complaint made before him or them upon Oath that the Complainant has Reason to believe, and does believe, that any Obscene Books, Papers, Writings, Prints, Pictures, Drawings, or other Representations are kept in any House, Shop, Room, or other Place within the Limits of the Jurisdiction of any such Magistrate or Justices, for the Purpose of Sale or Distribution, Exhibition for Purposes of Gain, lending upon Hire, or being otherwise published

Justices, &c. may authorize Search of suspected Premises.

9 U for

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Although many authors, publishers and printers had been charged, and sometimes convicted, of producing and distributing pornography under various statutes for hundreds of years, Great Britain had no specific legislation regarding obscene publications until Lord Campbell's Act of 1857. Lord Campbell (John Campbell, 1st Baron, 1779-1861) had apparently become aware of this threat to public welfare when, acting in his capacity as Lord Chief Justice at a trial, and speaking of a recent Act to control the sale of poisonous drugs "he had learned with horror and alarm that a sale of poison more deadly than prussic acid, strychnine, or arsenic – the sale of obscene publications and indecent books was going on."[1] He had brought

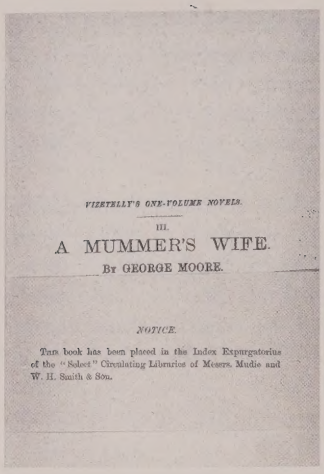
in the Divorce and Matrimonial Act in the same year (juicy divorce cases being a primary source of titillation in the popular press) and perhaps thought it proper to follow it up with the Act for more effectually preventing the Sale of Obscene Books, Pictures, Prints, and other Articles. His bill did not pass without opposition. In the House of Lords, Lord Lyndhurst pointed out what many commentators were later to echo; that such an Act would virtually eliminate from the English literary canon the works of Rochester, Wycherley, and Congreve, while "as for Ovid, not a single volume would be safe" – at least in translation. In the House of Commons, vigourous opposition was expressed by Richard Monckton Milnes who became Lord Houghton in 1863 and whose large, but select, collection of erotic literature, mostly French and Italian, was perhaps already well known. (The alleged influence of French literature at this period is illustrated by an anecdote, told by Milnes, of his meeting, at an early hour, a young friend in the Burlington Arcade. On being asked what he was doing he explained he was hurrying to a bookshop: "I have just brought a charming girl within one French novel of being seduced and now I am off to Bentleys to choose the finisher".)[2] In its amended form the Act passed without a division and Scotland was exempted from its provisions.

What Lord Campbell's Act did not do was to define exactly what constituted an obscene libel, but ten years later, in the case of the Queen versus Hicklin, Sir Alexander Cockburn delineated the test of obscenity. "The test of obscenity" he wrote "is whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscenity is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall."[3] The case began in Wolverhampton with a charge against Henry Scott for selling copies of a pamphlet called *The Confessional Unmasked: Shewing the Depravity of the Roman Priesthood, the Iniquity of the Confessional and the Questions put to Females in Confession.* The Wolverhampton magistrate ordered the pamphlets to be destroyed but Scott appealed to the Quarter Sessions and the Recorder revoked the decision. A further appeal brought the case to the court of Queen's Bench and Chief Justice Cockburn upheld the original decision. The repercussions of his judgment were to reverberate through the succeeding century, not only in Britain, and with a

special poignancy for Henry Vizetelly, but also in North America. Its essential absurdity, and the confusion engendered by the words "deprave and corrupt", were perhaps best expressed by a Massachusetts judge in 1947 while discussing a charge brought against *Forever Amber*: "while conducive to sleep it is not conducive to sleep with a member of the opposite sex."[4]

By 1877 the climate of public opinion, at least as represented by those who considered themselves the guardians of public morals, was such that Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh were prosecuted for publishing Charles Knowlton's *Fruits of Philosophy*, a pamphlet on birth control, which had been freely available for over forty years. The case ended up in the Queen's Bench Division, presided over once again by Chief Justice Cockburn, and before a special jury. The prosecution was conducted by the Solicitor-General, Sir Harding Giffard, and Besant and Bradlaugh defended themselves. The jury was actually told at the beginning of the trial that they were "the guardians of public morals" and that the publication of "filth" must only be justified by a "principle of law." Mrs. Besant spoke for over two days; Bradlaugh was more concise and, although Cockburn called the prosecution "ill advised" and "injudicious" he still interpreted the law to mean that the book "intended to corrupt and vitiate the morals of the people". The jury retired and, after a lengthy debate, returned the extraordinary verdict "we find that the book is calculated to corrupt public morals, but we entirely exonerate the defendants from any corrupt motives in publishing it."[5] Cockburn interpreted that as "guilty," but after a sentence of six months in prison and a fine, because Mrs. Besant spoke of the case in public, the execution was stayed and a writ of error introduced. They both were freed, no pamphlets were destroyed, and the only result of the lengthy trial was that the circulation of *The Fruits of Philosophy* rose from a few hundred a year to over a hundred and twenty thousand.

The literary atmosphere into which Vizetelly introduced the "naturalism" of Zola and other French writers in the 1880s was confused. On the one hand there were Rossetti, Swinburne, James, Hardy, and Wilde ("There is no such thing as a moral or an immoral book. Books are well written or badly written. That is all.").[6] The other side was perhaps represented by W.H. Smith and



VIZETELLY'S ONE-VOLUME NOVELS.

III.

A MUMMER'S WIFE.

By GEORGE MOORE.

NOTICE.

This book has been placed in the Index Expurgatorius of the "Select" Circulating Libraries of Messrs. Mudie and W. H. Smith & Son.

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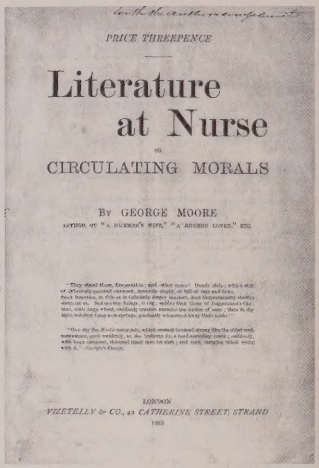


PRICE THREEPENCE

Literature at Nurse

OR

CIRCULATING MORALS

By GEORGE MOORE

AUTHOR OF "A MUMMER'S WIFE," "A MODERN LOVER," ETC.

LONDON

VIZETELLY & CO., 42 CATHERINE STREET, STRAND

1885

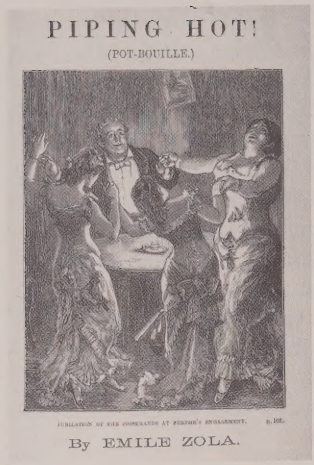
6

Mudie's, the circulating libraries whose power of control put them into a position of active censorship at a time when the free public library movement was still nascent. In between was George Moore, whose *A Modern Lover* had been published in the traditional three-volume format by Tinsley in 1883 to some critical acclaim. When Mudie's refused to stock it and after "two ladies from the country" wrote to W.H. Smith objecting to the scene with the artist and his model, he too refused to renew his order. These actions effectively killed the book and it remains, as they say "scarce in the trade," but this unofficial police action did bring together George Moore and Henry Vizetelly. In 1884 Vizetelly published *A Mummer's Wife* in one volume at six shillings (as opposed to 31s. 6d., the standard price of a three decker) and later produced a cheaper edition. The circulating libraries, of course, refused to stock it, but the handwriting was on the wall. By the mid-nineties the three-decker was a thing of the past and in later life George Moore liked to claim that he had dispatched it single-handedly. Henry Vizetelly could have claimed an equal responsibility and, of course, the complete story of the demise of the three-decker is much more complex. Vizetelly also published *Literature at Nurse or Circulating Morals*, Moore's attack on the circulating libraries, in 1885, and three more of his novels.

Henry Vizetelly began to publish Zola's novels in English in

1884 and it is important to remember that throughout this whole period they were freely available in England, in French. It was apparently felt that only responsible and incorruptible members of English society could read French. In fact, the English translations were "toned down," but the expurgation was done so quickly that most of the original was retained. The principle of editing, as expressed by Ernest Vizetelly when referring to *La Terre*, was that "although Hyacinthe's infirmity might be true to life, [he farted continually] it would also give offence to people who no longer read Sterne, and also knew little or nothing of Rabelais".[7]

As a prelude to the trials of 1888 and 1889, there were two important events: the founding of the National Vigilance Association by John Kensit, a Protestant fanatic reformer who died in 1902 from a chisel wound inflicted during a riot, and others, including Samuel Smith. The member of the House of Commons for Flintshire, on 8 May 1888, Smith rose to propose the motion "that this House deplores the rapid spread of demoralizing literature in the country, and is of the opinion that the law against obscene publications and indiscreet pictures and prints should be vigorously enforced, and, if necessary, strengthened".[8] Smith's attack, and he was addressing about forty of the approximately 650 members of the Commons, was based, in part, on articles written by W.T. Stead in his *Pall Mall Gazette* in March 1888. Stead had, of course, himself become famous (or notorious) for his series of articles on child prostitution called "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4-10 July 1885. Although he was prosecuted and imprisoned, the age of consent was raised from thirteen to sixteen. Stead had written to Vizetelly asking for information on his sales figures and Vizetelly, perhaps seeing an opportunity for some free advertising, had replied saying something like "it's a bad week when I don't sell a thousand copies of Zola." This was turned by Stead into the statement that Vizetelly & Co. had circulated over a million copies of Zola's works and, furthermore, that they were complete translations. Thus began a press campaign against Zola, but as he was in France his publisher was to bear the brunt of the consequences. (Tom Stoppard, in his *The Invention of Love* of 1997 has his character W.T. Stead say "our Aesthetes look to Paris for their sins, which I will not name, which are so odious they



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should never have been allowed to leave France": to which his character of Frank Harris replies, "Actually, in Greece and Rome sodomy was rarely associated with a taste for French novels.")[9]

Mr. Smith continued with his opinion that Zola's novels were responsible for the moral decay of France and urged the House to take immediate action. It was suggested that there was already a law in place and what was really needed was strong enforcement. The question was put and passed, but a Mr. Matthew's suggestion that the most effective method of prosecution was "unofficial action" was immediately picked up by members of the National Vigilance Association, who then swung into action. From now on Henry Vizetelly was a marked man. Essentially what the government was indicating was a stance that while they could not initiate complaints they would take over the prosecution of others' "actions." George Moore remembered Vizetelly telling him of the visit of "the Vigilance Society's man" to purchase a Zola novel in the publishing house itself to pass on to the prosecutor.

On 10 August 1888 Henry Vizetelly appeared at Bow Street Court in answer to a summons charging him with publishing obscene libel. Mr. Asquith (later the Earl of Oxford and Asquith and Prime Minister from 1908 to 1916) selected *The Soil*, *Nana*, and *Piping Hot* to be offered in evidence for prosecution. Mr. Lickfold

conducted the defence. The magistrate, Mr. Bridge, suggested that the worst of the three be selected as an example; Mr. Asquith chose *The Soil* and referred several sections to him. The best Mr. Lickfold could come up with as a defence was that it was not really as bad as *Don Juan* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and the magistrate committed Vizetelly for trial in the Central Criminal Court. On 18 September there was a farcical hearing where the case was postponed to the next sessions and Vizetelly wrote indignantly to *The Times* about being prevented from offering any opposition. The trial was set for 31 October. In the meantime, Vizetelly initiated a curious defence of himself in the form of an eighty-seven-page pamphlet called *Extracts Principally from the English Classics showing that the Legal Suppression of M. Zola's Novels Would Logically Involve the Bowdlerizing of some of the Greatest Works in English Literature*. It consisted of quotations found in the works of writers ranging from Shakespeare to Swinburne, including Carew, Etherege, Dryden, Congreve, Prior, Defoe, Swift, Sterne, Byron, etc. It was commonly said that only twelve copies were printed, but a great many more than that survive today. It was addressed to Sir A.K. Stephenson, the Solicitor to the Treasury who was in charge of the prosecution, and concludes:

> Time, we are told, brings round its revenges, and the books burnt by the common hangman in one age come to be honoured in the next. England may render itself ridiculous in the eyes of Europe by visiting the works of M. Zola with the same kind of condemnation which the civilized world has accorded to the writings of the degraded Marquis de Sade; still it requires no particular foresight to predict that a couple of generations hence, when the tribe of prejudiced scribes – who, ignorant for the most part of their own country's literature, now join in the hue and cry against M. Zola – are relegated to their proper obscurity, the works of the author of the Rougon-Macquart Family will take rank as classics among the productions of the great writers of the past.[10]

Although eloquent and even, perhaps, logical, the *Extracts* had no practical effect whatsoever on the outcome of the trial. The press attacks continued and as the government wheeled out its big guns,

Vizetelly seemed to lose his nerve. His son Ernest attributed this to his age (68) and to his health (he suffered from a "stricture" which required constant attention).

On 31 October, at the Central Criminal Court before the Recorder, Sir Thomas Chambers, the case was prosecuted by the Solicitor-General, Sir Edward Clarke, with Mr. Poland and Mr. Asquith. Mr. B.F. Williams and Mr. A.R. Cluer conducted the defence. Ernest Vizetelly suggested that his father failed to obtain adequate legal counsel because the Parnell Commission was sitting and the great men of the bar were occupied with it. It is certainly true that Chambers, Clarke, Poland, and, of course, Asquith are all prominently featured in the *Dictionary of National Biography* while one looks in vain for either Williams or Cluer. Inadequate and incompetent legal advice were to be one of Vizetelly's principal problems. The case was opened with the indictment:

> The Jurors of our Lady the Queen upon their Oath present that *Henry Vizetelly* publisher and Bookseller of No. 16 Henrietta Street Covent Garden in the County of Middlesex being a person of a wicked and depraved mind and disposition and unlawfully and wickedly devising contributing and intending to vitiate and corrupt the morals of all the subjects of our present Sovereign Lady the Queen and to debauch poison and infect the minds of the youth of this Kingdom and to bring them into a state of wickedness lewdness and debauchery on the Twenty sixth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty eight in a certain open and public shop situate [sic] at Number 16 Henrietta Street Covent Garden in the County of Middlesex and within the Jurisdiction of the said Central Criminal Court did unlawfully wickedly and wilfully publish sell and utter and cause and procure to be published sold and uttered a certain lewd wicked bawdy and obscene libel in the form of a book entitled "The Soil" (La Terre) a Realistic Novel by Emile Zola" in which said libel are contained among other things divers [sic] wicked lewd impure and obscene matters that is to say: in one part thereof at page 11, 12 and 13 of the said Book according to that tenor and effect following videlicet:[11]

Hold your tongue or I strike. Am I not the master?

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Sir Edward then began to read selected passages from *The Soil*, with the warning that if anyone reporting on the trial actually quoted the passages they too would be liable to prosecution. He had also, of course, cited the case of the Queen vs. Hicklin, with its test of obscenity, but failed to mention that this was the first time such a test had been applied in court to a literary work. Passages such as one beginning "I say, the neatherd must have" and ending "expeditiously performed." And "Only the evening before" ... "From her loins" were read, some of them being quite short and some taking up several pages.[12] Sir Edward had not proceeded very far with what he considered his loathsome task (and he had thirty-four passages to read) when he was interrupted by the Foreman of the jury, who wished to know whether it was necessary for him to read all the passages. The Recorder intervened:

> They are charged in the indictment as being the substance and essence of the case. They are revolting to a degree, but they are charged in the indictment, and must be proved.
>
> A juryman – But is it necessary to read them all?
>
> The Recorder – The Solicitor-General will exercise his own discretion.
>
> The Solicitor-General – I hope you will understand that it is at

> least as unpleasant to me to read them as it is to you to listen to them. If you think, subject to what may be said by my learned friend on the part of the defence, that these passages are obscene, I will stop reading them at once.[13]

The passage that seems to have offended the jury the most was the account of the young girl bringing her cow to be serviced by a bull on a neighbouring farm and having to assist the bull in the performance of his duty. This was, of course, a London jury, by 1888 largely separated from rural communities and unwilling to believe that many English girls would have undergone similar experiences. Sir Edward did provide some amusement for the French newspaper correspondents in attendance by consistently pronouncing the name of the character "Jean" as if he was a bonny Scottish girl.

The reaction of Mr. Williams to this irregular turn of events was complete capitulation and after a brief consultation the plea of "not guilty" was withdrawn in favour of "guilty". He said that he realized that the book "contained passages which the jury had intimated were very disgusting and unpleasant even in the discharge of a public duty to have to listen to". He also announced that Vizetelly "would undertake at once to withdraw all those translations of Mr. Zola's works from circulation" and thereby set the scene for the second trial. In his plea for mitigation of punishment Mr. Williams referred to Zola as "a great French writer". "Oh no" interrupted Sir Edward Clarke "a voluminous French writer, if you like". "A popular French writer", suggested the Recorder to which Williams replied "A writer who certainly stands high among the literary men of France." The final statement of legal literary criticism belonged to the Solicitor-General, who exclaimed: "Do not malign the literature of France."[14] That Zola had been made a Knight of the Legion of Honour for *La Terre* was not mentioned. The prosecution did not ask for imprisonment and Vizetelly was fined £100 and bound over for £200 to be of good behaviour for twelve months. This undertaking included all three of the Zola novels, but immediately a misunderstanding and a misinterpretation arose concerning the rest of them.

Ernest Vizetelly, quoting from the court short-hand writer's transcript, gave one version of Sir Edward Clarke's interpretation:

> Of course I am very glad that a course has been taken which will not only stop from circulation the three books contained in these indictments, but which carries with it an undertaking by Mr. Vizetelly that he will be no party to the circulation of any other of the works which M. Zola has produced, any others – I should like to say – which are at least as objectionable as those which are indicted before your Lordship to-day.

Furthermore, Ernest remembered the use of the phrase "in their present forms".[15] The *Times*, however, in its report of the trial on 1 November 1888, had a rather different version: "The Solicitor-General was very glad that a course had been taken which not only would result in stopping the circulation of the books in question, but which carried with it an undertaking that Mr. Vizetelly would be no party to the circulation of other works of M. Zola." And the *Times* editorial writer displayed no doubts about what the conviction meant:

> This is a sufficiently heavy punishment when it is considered that Mr. Vizetelly had undertaken, through his counsel, at once to withdraw from circulation all the translations of Zola's works published by him, so that, in addition to paying a not inconsiderable fine, he will suffer a severe commercial loss... In future, as the Solicitor-General intimated, any one who publishes translations of Zola's novels and works of similar character will do so at his peril, and must not expect to escape so easily as Mr. Vizetelly.[16]

The Times editorial presented the problem of Vizetelly & Co. in a nutshell and it was further elucidated by Ernest in his book on Zola:

> The firm then had several thousand pounds locked up in illustrated books which were not nearly ready for publication. The sales of its existing books had been declining for several months, so that its receipts had become small though its expenses remained heavy and it had liabilities such as are always incurred in trade. Under these circumstances it was felt that the Zola translations, being a valuable property, could not be entirely sacrificed. The undertaking given in court was interpreted in the

> sense previously indicated, and though the books were absolutely withdrawn for a time, it was decided to put them on the market again after they had been adequately expurgated.[17]

Ernest himself undertook to provide the expurgations, but he immediately faced a practical problem. These books, as for most popular fiction of the time, were printed from stereotype plates and thus any substantive alteration of the text involved the manufacture of new plates, not only for the actual page being changed but often for those following it as well. Ernest said he did his best, spending two months deleting or modifying 325 pages in the fifteen volumes given to him. Henry's health had further deteriorated and he seems not to have participated very much in this process.

In January 1889, Vizetelly & Co. issued an announcement:

RE-ISSUE OF M. ZOLA'S REALISTIC NOVELS.
In Three-and-Sixpenny Volumes, with all the Original Illustrations.

VIZETELLY & CO. beg to inform the Trade that New and Revised Editions of the following Volumes are now ready, with the exception of Nos. 9, 10 and 15 of the subjoined Rougon-Macquart Series.

1 The Fortune of the Rougons.
2 The Rush for the Spoil.
3 Fat and Thin.
4 The Conquest of Plassans.
5 Abbe Mouret's Transgression.
6 His Excellency Eugene Rougon.
7 The "Assommoir."
8 A Love Episode.
9 Nana. (Undergoing Revision)
10 Piping Hot! (Undergoing Revision)
11 The Ladies' Paradise.
12 How Jolly Life Is.
13 Germinal; or, Master and Man.
14 His Masterpiece.
15 The Soil. (Undergoing Revision)

A Soldier's Honour.
Madeleine Férat.
Thérèse Raquin.
Mysteries of Marseilles. (Shortly)

It is difficult to determine exactly how many of these books were actually published. The National Vigilance Association was waiting and had summonses taken out against Vizetelly & Co. and four other publishers. According to *The Times*, Vizetelly and Co.

> were summoned for selling 12 books, *The Rush for the Spoil*, *The Fortune of the Rougons*, *Fat and Thin*, *Germinal*, *The Assommoir*, *Abbe Mouret's Transgression*, and *His Excellency Eugene Rougon*, by Zola: *A Love Crime*, by Paul Bourgets [sic]; *Madame Bovary*, by Gustave Flaubert; *How Jolly Life Is* [actually a translation of Zola's *La Joie de Vivre*], *A Woman's Life*, by Guy de Maupassant, and *A Ladies' Man* by the same author.[18]

The hearing was held at Bow Street on 1-2 May 1889 before the magistrate Mr. Vaughan and again Vizetelly was represented by Mr. Cluer. Mr. Coote, the Secretary of the National Vigilance Association, was allowed to read passages from *The Rush for the Spoil*, which he considered to be obscene. Mr. Cluer offered the defence that three or four isolated passages from a book of 290 pages was not a fair test, but the magistrate felt that was a question for a jury to decide. The only concession was the withdrawal of charges against five of the books, including *Germinal* and *Madame Bovary*. That left seven books, but did not include *The Soil*, *Nana*, or *Piping Hot*, presumably because they had not been published as part of the January list. When Vizetelly returned to his office, he assigned all his property to his creditors and, in effect, went into liquidation.

The second trial began on 30 May 1889 in the Central Criminal Court, before the same Recorder, Sir Thomas Chambers. Ernest Vizetelly recorded that the Trustees of Vizetelly & Co. had been resolved to fight the case and that Frank Harris, then the editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, had agreed to bear the expenses. He, however, wished the senior counsel to be Mr. Cluer, who had acted as junior counsel at the first trial and, at least, had read Zola in his original language, and understood something of the aims and purposes of French naturalism. Mr. Cluer, however, was relegated to his former role and the defence was conducted by Mr. Cock, Q.C. (also not in the *D.N.B.*). The Solicitor-General, Sir Edward Clarke again prosecuted, supported by Mr. Danckwerts. They did

not have to extend their legal skills very far as Vizetelly did not, apparently, meet with Mr. Cock until half an hour before the proceedings were to begin, when the barrister declared that there could be no defence. If Ernest's account is to be trusted, this was the last thing Henry Vizetelly expected to hear, but in his reduced physical and mental state could do nothing. The Solicitor-General, of course, recalled the previous year's verdict and produced a catalogue of Vizetelly & Co. to demonstrate that such books were a speciality of the company. The plea was "guilty" and Sir Edward called upon the court to decree the recognizances forfeit. Mr. Cock's efforts at mitigation consisted of admitting that expurgation could not have gone far enough and reminding the court that his client was seventy years old and in very poor health. Ernest also testified as to the state of his father's health and, questioned by Clarke, denied having any connection with Vizetelly & Co. Henry was sentenced to three months in prison as a first-class misdemeanant, with no fine as he clearly had no means to pay one. He was led away, apparently in terrible pain, and taken to Pentonville Prison, which had no accommodation for first-class misdemeanants. He was eventually lodged in Holloway and served his three months there.

"A Plea for the Release of Mr. Vizetelly" was printed and circulated by Ernest, and also sent to the Home Secretary. It was signed by over a hundred writers and artists, including Millais, Sambourne, Furniss, Gosse, Garnett, Furnivall, Stephen, Ellis, Besant, Hardy, Haggard, Caine, Sala, Yates, Pinero, Irving, Symons, Allen, LeFanu, and Sharp. Only two writers wrote anything sustained in Vi0zetelly's defence: Robert Buchanan in an article called "On Descending into Hell" and George Moore's "New Censorship in Literature." A more typical reaction to French naturalism by the literary establishment is that of Tennyson in his *Locksley Hall* (1886):

> Rip your brother's vices open, strip your own foul passions bare
> Down with Reticence, down with reverence – forward – naked – let them stare.
> Feed the budding rose of boyhood with the drainage of your sewer;
> Send the drain into the fountain, lest the stream should issue pure.
> Set the maiden fancies wallowing in the troughs of Zolaism

> Forward, forward, ay and backward, downward too into the abysm.[19]

The many ironies inherent in the reception of Zola's novels in England and in the treatment of Henry Vizetelly are alluded to by him in the final lines of his memoir, *Glances Back Through Seventy Years*, which he wrote during the final years of his life. He quotes the *Westminster Gazette*'s description of Zola's visit to London in September, 1893:

> No man ever received a more courteous and respected greeting than he, in Lincoln's Inn today – yet it is only a few years ago since his English publisher, an old man with a name respected in English journalism, was held to prison for publishing what at most was a bowdlerized edition of one of the Sage of Medan's most harrowing dissections of the moral cancer. How changed to-day.[20]

Vizetelly received a four-column biography in the *D.N.B.* and was described as the "pioneer of the pictorial press."

The prosecutions of Vizetelly and, through him, Zola are interesting in several ways. The first trial was the first time the Obscene Libel Act had been successfully invoked against works of obvious literary merit and thus, for the first time the question of context was raised. Is it fair, in a legal sense, to judge a complete work on selected passages or should the jurors, as in the case of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, be made to read the whole book? We still live with Sir Alexander Cockburn's test for obscenity, tempered somewhat by literary context and what are called "community standards," and these are applied not just to books, but also to art, photographs, film, and now the output of the World Wide Web, where the standards of the National Vigilance Association seem to have been abandoned.

Governments have traditionally been reluctant to venture into the legal minefields of definitions of obscenity, as they can easily be made to look foolish and often do not obtain clear judgements. Indeed, Vizetelly attributed the change of attitudes towards Zola to changes in government. Even though Samuel Smith referred to Zola's novels in the House of Commons as "diabolical," "fit only for swine," and asserted that they would "turn the minds of the public into cesspools," the government took no action: that was left up to

the National Vigilance Association, the proceedings being taken over by the Crown.

Hardy and Moore were pilloried by reviewers and censured by public opinion, but neither they nor their publishers were subjected to criminal prosecution. So why did Zola and Vizetelly bear the brunt of the extraordinary rise of English Grundyism in the late 1880s? The simplistic answer is that Zola was French, wasn't there and didn't care. His only recorded remark upon being told of Henry Vizetelly's troubles was along the line of "there go the English making fools of themselves again." Vizetelly, however, even though he was English born and bred, still had a foreign name and had spent a considerable period of time in France. He was also "there" and because of the reliance of his firm on translations of European literature for its prosperity, he was vulnerable. His culpability was probably also compounded, in the eyes of the National Vigilance Association, because of the cheap prices of his books. At 2s. 6d. the works of Zola could easily fall into the hands of "those whose minds are open to such immoral influences". It is also obvious that he suffered from truly dreadful legal advice. The chapter on his father and Zola by Ernest Vizetelly in his *Emile Zola; Novelist and Reformer* (1904) is self-serving and may hide more than it reveals. It is certainly true that by 1888 Vizetelly & Co. could not survive without Zola and Ernest may have had more to do with pushing the French naturalism list than he cared to admit.

The question of who exactly is being libeled by an obscene libel also arises and can only be answered in very general ways. Lord Campbell clearly had in mind the protection of those he considered "innocent", which, in his time, would have encompassed children, women, servants and the uneducated. Chief Justice Cockburn specifically mentioned youth in his judgement of the Queen vs. Hicklin and perhaps that is who the courts thought they were protecting in the two trials of Henry Vizetelly. That the convictions and sentences had no general effect whatsoever is obvious and one can only conclude, along with Zola, that England was not a very logical nation, a trait it shared with many others.

NOTES

1 Hansard, April 1857, vol. CXLV, 102.

2 Quoted in James Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes: The Flight of Youth, 1851–1885* (London: Constable, 1951), 115.

3 *Law Reports*. 3 Q.B. 360 (1868).

4 Commonwealth vs. *Forever Amber*. L.Q., No. 2, 79 (1947).

5 *The Queen v. Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant* in Hypatia Bouner, *Charles Bradlaugh* (London: 1894).

6 Preface to *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (London: Ward, Lock, 1891).

7 Ernest Vizetelly, *Emile Zola; Novelist and Reformer* (London: John Lane, 1904), 255.

8 Hansard, 3rd series CCCXXV. 20 April 1888–10 May 1888. Col. 1708.

9 Tom Stoppard, *The Invention of Love* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), 64.

10 Quoted from Ernest Vizetelly, 273.

11 Central Criminal Court Records. Crim. 4, 1036, pt. 1.

12 Central Criminal Court Records. Crim. 4, 1036, pt. 1.

13 Quoted from *The Times*. 1 November 1888, 13.

14 Quoted from Ernest Vizetelly, 280.

15 Ernest Vizetelly, 282.

16 *The Times*. 1 November 1888, 9.

17 Ernest Vizetelly, 284.

18 *The Times*. 2 May 1889, 3.

19 Alfred, Lord Tennyson, *Locksley Hall–Sixty Years After* (London: Macmillan, 1886).

20 Henry Vizetelly, *Glances Back Through Seventy Years* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893), II: 432.

Addresses of Vizetelly & Co. and Associated Firms

Vizetelly, Branston & Co. (James Henry Vizetelly, Robert Branston, and a sleeping partner, possibly George Whitehead)

135 Fleet Street	1827-38
8 Peterborough Court	1829-38
76 Fleet Street (White Lion Court)	1831-38

Whitehead (George) & Co. (publisher of 1839 ed. of *The Boy's Own Book*)

76 Fleet Street	1838-1841

Vizetelly & Co. (James Thomas George Vizetelly and silent partners?)

135 Fleet Street & 8 Peterborough Court	1838-1841

Vizetelly Brothers & Company (James Thomas George, Henry Vizetelly, and silent partners?)

135 Fleet Street & 8 Peterborough Court	1842-1849

Vizetelly & Company (James Thomas George)

8 Peterborough Court & 135 Fleet Street	1850-55

Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver

15/16 Gough Square, Fleet Street	1850-61, 1864-1865

Vizetelly & Loudan (Henry Vizetelly and Robert Loudan)

15/16 Gough Square, Fleet Street	1862-1864

Vizetelly & Co.

10 Southampton Street, Strand	1880-1882
42 Catherine Street, Strand	1882-1888
16 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden	1888-1890

Charles Henry Clarke, binder and bookseller
25 1/2 Bouverie Street 1851-54

Clarke (Charles Henry) & Co.
148 Fleet Street 1852

Clarke, Beeton, & Co. (Charles Henry Clarke and Samuel Orchart Beeton)
148 Fleet Street 1852-54

Clarke & Beeton succeeded by Beeton (Samuel Orchart)
148 Fleet & 25 1/2 Bouverie Street 1855

Samuel Orchart Beeton (successor to Clarke & Beeton)
18 Bouverie Street 1855-60
248 Strand 1860-66

Frederick Salisbury
54 Castle Street 1850, 51
23 Primrose Hill 1851

Salisbury & Bennett
23 Primrose Hill & 25 1/2 Bouverie St. 1852

Salisbury, Beeton & Co.
23 Primrose Hill & 25 1/2 Bouverie St. 1853, 54
Poppins Court & Peterborough Court 1854

Sources: William B. Todd, *A Directory of Printers and others in Allied Trades London & Vicinity, 1800-1840* (London: Printing Historical Society,1972); Philip A.H. Brown, *London Publishers and Printers c. 1800-1870* (London: The British Library, 1982); Maurice Packer, *Bookbinders of Victorian London* (London: The British Library, 1991); and the books themselves.

Items Included in The Exhibition

1 Frederick Marryat. *Poor Jack.* London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1840. (Fisher)

2 Joseph Kenny Meadows. *Heads of the People; or, Portraits of the English.* London: Robert Tyas, 1840-41. Vizetelly & Co., Printers. (Korey/Landon)

3 John Gibson Lockhart. *Ancient Spanish Ballads; Historical and Romantic.* London: John Murray, 1841. Vizetelly & Co., Printers & Engravers. (Massey)

4 John Gibson Lockhart. *Ancient Spanish Ballads; Historical and Romantic.* London: John Murray. W. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, 1842. Vizetelly Brothers & Co., Printers & Engravers. (Massey)

5 Jules Goury and Owen Jones. *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra.* London: Published by Owen Jones, 1842-45. Vizetelly Brothers & Co., Printers. (Massey)

6 *The Comic Album: a Book for Every Table.* London: Wm. S. Orr & Co., 1843. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

7 Church of England. *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of The Sacraments, And other Rites and Ceremonies of The Church, According to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland. With Notes. Illuminated: And Illustrated with Engravings from the Works of the Great Painters.* London: John Murray, 1845. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

8 Louisa Stuart Costello. *The Rose Garden of Persia.* London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1845. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

9 Theodore Martin. *The Book of Ballads: Edited by Bon Gaultier, and illustrated by Alfred Crowquill.* London: Wm. S. Orr and Co., 1845. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

10 *The Pictorial Times.* London: 1846. (Massey)

11 Dudley Costello. *A Tour through the Valley of the Meuse: with the Legends of the Walloon Country and the Ardennes. … Second Edition.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1846. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

12 Mrs. Percy Sinnett. *A Story about a Christmas in The Seventeenth Century.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1846. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

13 Mrs. Percy Sinnett. *Hunters and Fishers: or, Sketches of Primitive Races in the Lands Beyond the Sea.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1846. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

14 Charles Nodier. *Bean Flower and Pea Blossom. … Embellished with Numerous Illustrations from Designs by Tony Johannot.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1846. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

15 Thomas Miller. *The Boy's Summer Book: Descriptive of the Season, Scenery, Rural Life, and Country Amusements. … With Thirty-six Illustrations, Engraved on Wood, by Henry Vizetelly.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1846. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

16 *The History of Dame Mitchell and Her Cat. Embellished with Numerous Illustrations.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1847. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

17 Thomas Miller. *The Boy's Winter Book Descriptive of the Season, Scenery, Rural Life, and Country Amusements. … With Thirty-four illustrations, Engraved on Wood, by Henry Vizetelly and Others.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1847. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

18 Thomas Miller. *The Country Year Book, Descriptive of the Seasons; Rural Scenes and Rustic Amusements; Birds, Insects, and Quadrupeds. … With One Hundred and Forty Illustrations, Engraved on Wood, by Henry Vizetelly, and Others. Spring & Summer.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1847. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

19 Thomas Miller. *The Country Year Book, Descriptive of the Seasons; Rural Scenes and Rustic Amusements; Birds, Insects, and Quadrupeds. … With One Hundred and Forty Illustrations, Engraved on Wood, by Henry Vizetelly, and Others. Autumn & Winter.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1847. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

20 Angus B. Reach. *The Natural History of Humbugs. … Illustrated by A. Henning.* London: D. Bogue, 1847. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Fisher)

21 Albert Smith. *The Natural History of 'Stuck-up' People. … Illustrated by A. Henning.* London: D. Bogue, 1847. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

22 Eden Warwick. *The Poets' Pleasaunce: or, Garden of All Sorts of Pleasant Flowers, which our pleasant poets have, in past time, for pastime, planted.* London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1847. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

23 J. M. Bechstein. *Chamber Birds: Their Natural History, Management, Habits, Food, Diseases, Treatment, Breeding, and the Methods of Catching Them.* London: Wm. S. Orr and Co., 1848. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

24 *The Comic Almanack For 1848: An Ephemeris in Jest and Earnest. Edited by Horace Mayhew. Adorned with numerous illustrations by George Cruikshank.* London: David Bogue, 1848. Vizetelly Brothers & Co., Printers and Engravers. (Korey/Landon)

25 *The Illustrated London Almanack. 1848* [and] *1849.* London: Published at the Office of The Illustrated London News, 1848 and 1849. (Massey)

26 G.P.R. James. *The Last of the Fairies. ... With illustrations from Designs by John Gilbert. Engraved by Henry Vizetelly.* London: Parry & Co., [1848?]. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

27 Thomas Miller. *The Country Year Book: Descriptive of the Seasons; Rural Scenes and Rustic Amusements; Birds, Insects, and Quadrupeds. ... With One Hundred and Forty Illustrations, Engraved on Wood, by Henry Vizetelly, and Others.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1848. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

28 William M. Thackeray. *"Our Street." By Mr. M. A. Titmarsh. Second Edition.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1848. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

29 Paul Gavarni. *Gavarni in London: Sketches of Life and Character, with Illustrative Essays by Popular Writers. Edited by Albert Smith.* London: David Bogue, 1849. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

30 *A History of Wonderful Inventions. Illustrated with numerous engravings on wood.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1849. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

31 Horace. *The Works of Quintus Horatius Flaccus illustrated chiefly from the remains of ancient art. With a life by the Rev. Henry Hart Milman.* London: John Murray, 1849. Vizetelly Brothers and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

32 Horace Mayhew. *Model Women and Children. … Sculptured by H. G. Hine. Second Edition.* London: D. Bogue, [1849?]. Vizetelly Brothers & Co., Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

33 Henry Vizetelly. *Vier Monate unter den Goldfindern in Oberkalifornien von J. Trywhitt Brooks.* Leipzig: Verlags buchhandlung von J.J. Weber, 1849. (Fisher)

34 *The Illustrated Book of Songs for Children. The engravings from designs by Birket Foster.* London: Wm. S. Orr & Co., 1850. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

35 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. *Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie. … Illustrated with forty-five engravings on wood, from designs by Jane E. Benham, Birket Foster, and John Gilbert.* London: David Bogue, 1850. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

36 Thomas Miller. *Original Poems for my Children. … Second Series.* London: David Bogue, 1850. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

37 *Christmas with the Poets: A Collection of Songs, Carols, and Descriptive Verses, relating to the festival of Christmas, from the Anglo-Norman period to the present time. Embellished with fifty tinted illustrations by Birket Foster, and with initial letters and other ornaments.* London: David Bogue; and D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1851. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver (colophon dated: December, MDCCCL). (Massey)

38 *"Guess if you can!" A Collection of Original Enigmas and Charades, in Verse. Together with Fifty in the French Language. By a Lady.* London: David Bogue, 1851. Vizetelly and Company, Printers and Engravers. (Massey)

39 Alphonse de Lamartine. *The History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France.* London: Vizetelly & Company, 1851 (I); 1852 (II); 1853 (IV). (Sablé)

40 John Ruskin. *The King of the Golden River; or The Black Brothers: A Legend of Styria. Illustrated by Richard Doyle. Second Edition.* London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1851. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

41 Ida Pfeiffer. *A Woman's Journey Round the World, from Vienna to Brazil, Chili, Tahiti, China, Hindostan, Persia, and Asia Minor. An unabridged translation from the German. … Illustrated with tinted engravings.* London: Office of the National Illustrated Library, [1852?]. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

42 George W. Curtis. *Nile Notes of a "Howadji;" or, the American in Egypt. … Illustrated with twenty-nine engravings on wood.* London: Printed and Published by Henry Vizetelly; Clarke & Co., [1852]. (Sablé)

43 Victor Hugo. *Napoleon the little. … Fourth edition.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1852. (Fisher)

44 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. *Poems. … Illustrated with upwards of one hundred engravings on wood, from designs by Jane E. Benham, Birket Foster, etc.* London: David Bogue, 1852. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

45 Paul P. de La Gironière. *Twenty Years in the Philippines.* London: James Vizetelly [and] Henry Vizetelly; sold by Clarke, Beeton, & Co., [1853?]. Vizetelly and Co., Printers and Engravers. (Fisher)

46 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. *Hyperion: A Romance. … Illustrated with nearly one hundred engravings on wood from drawings by Birket Foster.* London: David Bogue, 1853. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

47 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. *The Golden Legend. … Illustrated with fifty engravings on wood, from designs by Birket Foster and Jane E. Hay.* London: David Bogue, 1854. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

48 Robert Southey. *The Life of Nelson. … Illustrated with numerous engravings on wood, from designs by Edward Duncan, Birket Foster, Richard Westall, etc.* London: David Bogue, 1854. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

49 Martin F. Tupper. *Proverbial Philosophy: … Illustrated.* London: Thomas Hatchard, 1854. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

50 George Gordon, Lord Byron. *The Illustrated Byron: with upwards of two hundred engravings from original drawings by Kenny Meadows, Birket Foster, Hablot K. Brown, Gustave Janet and Edward Morin.* London: Henry Vizetelly, [1856]. (Massey)

51 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. *Poetical Works … Evangeline. – Voices of the Night. The Seaside and the Fireside. – The Golden Legend. Miscellaneous Poems. Illustrated with upwards of one hundred and sixty engravings on wood, from designs by Jane E. Benham, Birket Foster, Etc.* London: David Bogue, 1856. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

52 Great Britain. Laws and Statutes. *An Act for more effectually preventing the Sale of Obscene Books, Pictures, Prints, and other Articles. [25th August 1857].* London: Printed by George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1857. (Korey/Landon)

53 *The Illustrated Times.* London: 1857 and 1858. (Fisher)

54 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. *Kavanagh: A Tale. … Illustrated with original designs by Birket Foster. Engraved by H.N. Woods.* London: W. Kent and Co. (Late D. Bogue), 1858. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

55 *The Welcome Guest.* London, 1858. (Fisher)

56 Frederick Greenwood. *The Path of Roses. … With illustrations by Birket Foster, John Leech, Noel Humphreys, James Danby, Harrison Weir, &c., &c.* London: Charles H. Clarke, [1859]. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

57 William Wordsworth. *The White Doe of Rylstone; or, The Fate of the Nortons.* London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859. Henry Vizetelly, Printer and Engraver. (Massey)

58 George Augustus Sala. *America Revisited: From the Bay of New York to the Gulf of Mexico, and from Lake Michigan to the Pacific. … In Two Volumes.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1882. (Korey/Landon)

59 Walter Parke. *Lays of the Saintly, or The New Golden Legend.* London: Vizetelly & Co., [1883]. (Sablé)

60 E.C. Grenville-Murray. *Side-Lights on English Society: Sketches from Life, Social & Satirical. … Second Edition.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1883. (Sablé)

61 George Augustus Sala. *America Revisited: From the Bay of New York to the Gulf of Mexico, and from Lake Michigan to the Pacific. … Fourth Edition.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1883. (Korey/Landon)

62 George Augustus Sala. *Dutch Pictures with some Sketches in the Flemish Manner; and Pictures Done with a Quill. … A New Edition.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1883. (Korey/Landon)

63 George Moore. *A Mummer's Wife.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885 [i.e. 1884]. (Fisher)

64 George Augustus Sala. *Paris Herself Again in 1878-9. … Eighth Edition.* London: Vizetelly & Co.; New York: Scribner and Welford, 1884. (Korey/Landon)

65 Émile Zola. *Piping hot! (Pot-Bouille.) A Realistic Novel.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885 [i.e. 1884]. (Fisher)

66 Fortuné du Boisgobey. *In the Serpents' Coils.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885. (Sablé)

67 Fortuné du Boisgobey. *Bertha's Secret.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885. (Sablé)

68 Fortuné du Boisgobey. *Who Died Last? Or The Rightful heir.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885. (Sablé)

69 George Moore. *Literature at Nurse or Circulating Morals.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885. (Fisher)

70 George Moore. *A Mummer's Wife. … Second Edition.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885. (Fisher)

71 Georges Ohnet. *The Ironmaster; or, Love and Pride. … Eighth edition.* London: Vizetelly & Co., [1885?]. (Sablé)

72 Émile Zola. *The "Assommoir" (The Prelude to "Nana") A Realistic Novel. … New Edition.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885. "Crown octavo" edition. (Sablé)

73 Émile Zola. *The "Assommoir." (The Prelude to "Nana.") A Realistic Novel.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885. "Royal octavo" edition. (Sablé)

74 Émile Zola. *Nana: A Realistic Novel.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885. "Royal octavo" edition. (Sablé)

75 Émile Zola. *Piping Hot! (Pot-Bouille.) A Realistic Novel.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885. "Crown octavo" edition. (Sablé)

76 Émile Zola. *The Rush for the Spoil (La Curée). A Realistic Novel.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886 [i.e. 1885]. (Fisher)

77 Fortuné du Boisgobey. *The Crime of the Opera House.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886. (Sablé)

78 Fortuné du Boisgobey. *A Fight for a Fortune.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886. (Sablé)

79 Fortuné du Boisgobey. *The Coral Pin.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886. (Sablé)

80 Fortuné du Boisgobey. *The Jailer's Pretty Wife.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886. (Sablé)

81 Alphonse Daudet. *Sappho: Parisian Manners. A Realistic Novel.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886. (Sablé)

82 Gustave Flaubert. *Salambo. A Realistic Romance of Ancient Carthage.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886. (Sablé)

83 George Moore. *A Drama in Muslin. A Realistic Novel.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886. (Fisher)

84 George Augustus Sala. *Under the Sun: essays mainly written in Hot Countries. … New Edition, with several additional essays.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886. "Crown octavo" edition. (Korey/Landon)

85 Émile Zola. *His Masterpiece? (L'Œuvre.) or, Claude Lantier's Struggle for Fame. A Realistic Novel.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886. (Sablé)

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87 Fortuné du Boisgobey. *The Phantom Leg.* London: Vizetelly & Co., 1887. (Sablé)

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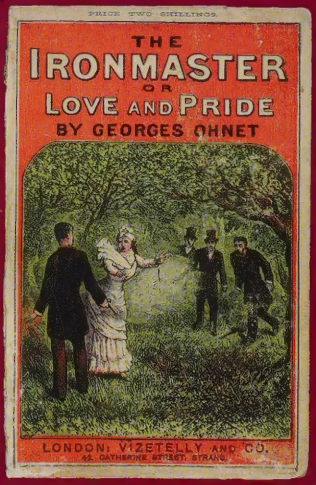

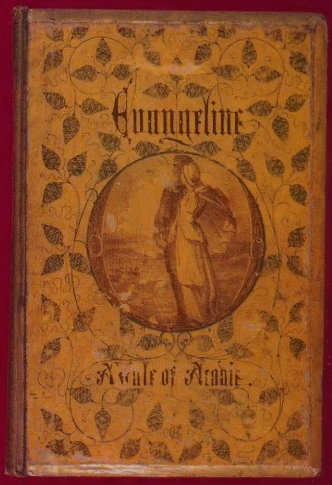

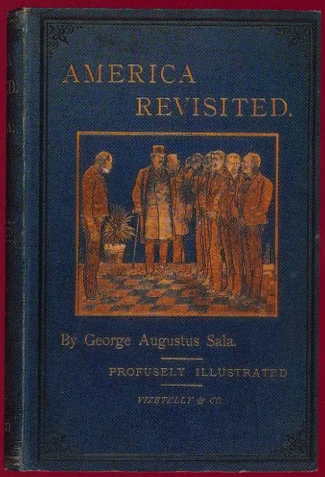

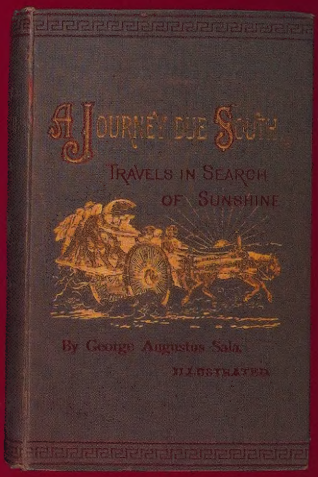

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